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NOTE to the Reader

(1) This is the third of six interconnected articles – the first two were published in the Journal's "Autumn 2018" issue (which, due to unavoidable delays, was not released until February 2019).

(2) Due to the complexities of the source material involved, and the consequences of a number of unavoidable delays, the (originally proposed) set of four articles were subsequently expanded to six – the remaining four articles (including this one) were published in the "Spring 2018" issue of the Journal (which, again, due to unavoidable delays, was not released until late March 2020).

(3) The entire set of six articles are part of a composite whole (i.e., rather than an associated set of six otherwise independent items).

(4) From this, the reader is strongly advised to read each of the six articles in the sequence they have been presented.

The articles were specifically written on the embedded assumption that each reader would dutifully do so (with the consequence that certain matters, theories, practices, and concepts are developed sequentially as the narrative proceeds).

(5) The original paper's content remains unchanged. For the reader's convenience, the original paper's pagination is indicated as **1**, etc.



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the art, science, and practice of hypnosis

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Editorial

In my Volume 40 #1 editorial of *The Australian Journal of Clinical Hypnotherapy & Hypnosis*, which along with this issue marks the 40th anniversary of its publication, I mentioned I had two takeaways from Lindsay Yeates' research on James Braid. This time, with the addition of the final four articles to the suite, I draw your attention to another two.

I'll start with a personal story from my university days in Canberra, ACT, when I befriended a wonderful young woman who also happened to be a devout Christian. Although we had different belief systems we got along incredibly well. After I completed my Arts Degree, I gravitated towards studying Clinical Hypnotherapy in Sydney, NSW, and subsequently took on four years of study before opening up a therapy practice. When I mentioned this undertaking to my friend, she suddenly grew serious and began warning me about the perils of hypnosis and hypnotherapy, mentioning they were tools of the devil. I was completely taken aback by her perspective, especially since she had modern values, and I gently pointed out that I could not fathom how hypnotherapy could be a force of evil when its underpinnings were focused on doing good in the community, namely helping people heal their themselves from within. I soon learned she knew nothing about hypnosis and when I asked her where she had come across such a notion of devilry in the rank and file of therapists around the globe, she mumbled something about this philosophy being a teaching of her church. I soon learned she had accepted this dogma without questioning it or indeed educating herself, as I'm sure many others have done. We never spoke of it again and remained friends for a few more years until we drifted apart, but for over 25 years I wondered where this false belief had emanated from and from whom. I finally received my answer when I read Lindsay Yeates' article, which delves into the Reverend M'Neile's personal attack from the pulpit in 1842 on James Braid and hypnotism whereupon the superstitious M'Neile had declared without any corroborating evidence that "all mesmeric phenomena were due to 'satanic agency'". Although James Braid responded to this the diatribe from the podium and in print, M'Neile's toxic seeds were sown—his sermon was published and distributed to tens of

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thousands of people in the UK and around the world for many years and where even to this day, 150+ years later, they are still inflicting damage on a noble and positive-outcome oriented humanistic therapeutic modality by being repeated (dare I say!) by thousands of supposed “modern” thinkers, living in a “modern” time but still hampered by out-dated views and a lack of critical thinking.

I can't help but think how exhausting it must have been for James Braid to have kept defending himself and his breakthrough scientific work during his lifetime. Again, I state that Lindsay Yeates' masterwork hopefully will redress the unjust, unfair, and ignorant views about Braid that have been perpetuated through the ages.

There is a lot more I could write about my deconstruction of and relationship to Yeates' masterwork but I will leave you with my final takeaway and that is about the profession of hypnotherapy itself, which has on occasion been politicised over the years by various stakeholders who wish to claim dominion over the practise of it. As Lindsay Yeates so eloquently explains, “despite the fact that hypnotic practices are still to be satisfactorily explained (or theoretically justified) today”, there is a science and an art to clinical hypnotherapy practise that is not the unique property of one particular professional group or another.

As a parting comment I wish to state that it has been a long and arduous journey for Lindsay Yeates to complete his six articles on James Braid. He pursued and uncovered thousands of obscure references, chasing up every lead like a private detective to give us an accurate picture as he could of Braid and his contribution to the field of hypnotism. Lindsay's attention to detail is extraordinary. These articles reflect his passion for his subject and his need to right a wrong and return Braid to his rightful place in hypnotherapy history. It was an honour to work with Lindsay and to lose myself in Braid's world, Lindsay's extraordinary scholarship and his beautiful command of the English language. I believe these articles need to be compulsory reading for any lay or established hypnotherapist to understand the roots of our present-day practise.

This issue of the journal marks the end of my five year term as journal editor, and I am most proud and grateful to the contributors who have brought their unique knowledge to the journal's pages. I thank the ASCH Board for their trust in appointing me to this position, and I now pass you over to the capable new editor Ann Moir-Bussy to cement her own voice and style in these pages and to bring you more wonderful articles from Australian and international hypnotherapy experts.
Farewell.

Julie Ditrich

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James Braid (III): Braid's Boundary-Work, M'Neile's Personal Attack, and Braid's Defence

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Abstract

James Braid (1795-1860), the natural philosopher, gentleman scientist, structured thinker, and well-respected Manchester surgeon, who, having encountered magnetic demonstrator Charles Lafontaine in 1841, conducted his own *experimentum crucis*, in the process of which he not only debunked Lafontaine's claims of 'magnetic agency', but also discovered *neuro-hypnotism*. This article examines Braid's subsequent lectures, *conversazioni*, and publications, highlighting his 'boundary-work' in defining hypnotism's unique identity, establishing its exclusive territory, extending its unique borders, and defending its disciplinary appropriateness. It also describes the nature, form, and motivation behind the separate, unwarranted, personal and professional attacks made one after another in 1842, by a powerful and well-connected cleric and a group of Manchester professional rivals within the Medical Section of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, and examines the extent to which Braid was forced to conduct another sort of 'boundary-work': defending his own person, rather than defending his theories, techniques, and practices alone.

KEY WORDS: animal magnetism; boundary-work; British Association for the Advancement of Science; dominant ideas; hypnosis; hypnotherapy; hypnotic suggestion; hypnotism; Hugh Boyd M'Neile (1795-1879), James Braid (1795-1860); mesmerism; ratchet effect; self-hypnosis

1. Introduction

Having described Braid's early life and professional development in Part I (Yeates, 2018a), and his encounter with Lafontaine and its immediate aftermath in Part II (Yeates, 2018b), and before moving on to examine the nature, form, and content of Braid's significant 1843 publication, *Neurypnology*, in Part IV (Yeates, 2018c), his [4] watershed work with both hypnotic anaesthesia and inhalation ether anaesthesia, and his dissemination of the fully developed, sophisticated representation of his theoretical position and clinical practices in Part V (Yeates, 2018d), and, finally, provide an account of the last years of Braid's life and an appraisal of his true significance, priority, and undoubted pre-eminence in Part VI (Yeates 2018e), we must now examine his

tenacious 'boundary-work' in the initial definition of hypnotism's unique identity, establishing its territory, extending its borders, and defending its disciplinary appropriateness.

Given the extent to which Braid, his ideas, and his entire enterprise were so rigorously tested, our view of the events of 1842 must change from one of Braid simply 'evolving', into one of his *purification by fire*; and, although a complete account of his step-by-step progress along the seven-month continuum—from his *experimentum crucis* (20 November 1841) to his *conversazione* at the Manchester meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science (29 June 1842)—requires far more space than this article allows (for extended details, see Yeates (2013), pp.102-335, *passim*, and 551-743, *passim*), the reader's attention will be briefly drawn to a number of significant individuals, events, advances, and breakthroughs in that progress.

2. Conceptual Considerations

2.1 The Ratchet Effect

In the early 1950s Leon Festinger set out to investigate *how people could be induced to change their fixed views on things*. However, he soon abandoned the investigation, because he found that it presented an "extraordinary difficulty" (Festinger, 1957, p.vii). Instead, Festinger turned his attention to its polar opposite: a study of *why people continued to maintain a particular view despite the presence of powerful contradictory evidence*.

Given that people had (already pre-existing) "*cognitions*" (ibid., p.9). Festinger examined the interactions between an individual's current "*cognitions*" and new information in two extreme situations:

- (a) where the existing and new "*cognitions*" were *consonant* with each other; and
- (b) where the existing and new "*cognitions*" were *dissonant* with each other.

Festinger discovered that, whenever *dissonance* occurred, individuals sought *cognitive consistency*—through a process he termed "*dissonance reduction*" (ibid., p.3)—which usually took one or more of four forms:

- (a) *changing* the beliefs, opinions or behaviours that were involved in the dissonance,
- (b) *acquiring* new information/beliefs that would increase consonance,
- (c) *forgetting* whichever of the "*cognitions*" that were currently dissonant, and/or
- (d) *reducing* the importance of whichever of the "*cognitions*" that were currently dissonant.

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One of the ways in which people protect themselves from the distress of cognitive dissonance is through “*the ratchet effect*”, a valuable concept introduced by Karl Sabbagh in June 1985 (Sabbagh, 1985/1986, pp.162-163):

[According to Sabbagh], the brains of believers operate like ratchet mechanisms. Phenomena that reinforce beliefs wind the ratchet's grip tighter. But negative evidence, like reversing the winder of your watch, produces no corresponding unwinding and loosening of the ratchet's hold.

(Jones [1985/1986], p.103)

2.2 Timeliness

As I have discussed elsewhere (Yeates, 2013, pp.89-91), the notion of timeliness lies within Stent's work on *premature discoveries* (1972a; 1972b; 1973; 2002a, 2002b) and Zuckerman & Lederberg's (1986) work on *postmature discoveries*:

- (a) *Postmature* discoveries are “delayed”, and “evoke surprise from the pertinent scientific community that [they were] not made earlier” (Zuckerman & Lederberg, 1986, p.629); whilst
- (b) *Premature* discoveries are “ahead of their time”, and “either passively neglected or actively resisted at the time they are made” (Zuckerman & Lederberg, loc. cit.).

Postmature discoveries were “technically achievable at an earlier time with methods then available”, “understandable”, “capable of being expressed in terms comprehensible to working scientists at the time”, and “[had] implications [that were] capable of having been appreciated” (Zuckerman & Lederberg, *ibid.*). By contrast, *premature* discoveries – e.g., Mendel's work with genetic inheritance in the 1860s – *were not* and, in most cases, *could not* be linked with generally accepted (“*canonical*”) knowledge (Stent, 1972a, p.434).

Stent's *connection-with-contemporary-canonical-knowledge* criterion clearly explains Braid's timely, watershed significance: Braid was sagacious enough to situate his antecedent ‘double internal and upward squint’ induction, and the consequent ‘artificial condition of the nervous system’, within the established contemporary knowledge of physiology, optics, and the nervous system and, in doing so, converted his finding into a timely discovery – thus, his discovery was neither *premature* nor *postmature*.

2.3 Problems vs. Puzzles

In the process of their 1965 discussion of “*pseudoscience*”, Karl Popper and Thomas Kuhn (see Kuhn, 1970a, pp.4-5, 6, 11; and 1970b, p.275) noted that, whilst practitioners of “normal science”

conducted “normal research” (seeking to solve “*puzzles*”), practitioners of “extraordinary science” conducted “extraordinary research” (seeking to solve “*problems*”).

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A ‘puzzle’ challenges a scientist’s *ingenuity*; if the ‘puzzle’ isn’t solved, it’s the scientist who fails the test. A ‘problem’ challenges the prevailing *theory*; if the ‘problem’ isn’t solved, it’s the theory, not the scientist, that fails the test. [Given that “*problem*” implies “*solution*”, we must also recognise Kaufmann’s (2001) “deceptive problems”: those where, in the manner in which the question is framed, a solution can’t be found, because the solver has been directed “into to the wrong problem space” – namely, “[one] where a solution cannot possibly be located” (p.45), such as a crossword puzzle mistakenly given the wrong clues (e.g., WM.1) (for more on ‘wrong’ *problem spaces*, see Newell, et al., 1962; also, see “The Monk Problem” at Yeates, 2004, pp.191-196).]

Braid’s sagacious brilliance was not only to side-step the “deceptive problem” of (vainly) trying to establish the reality of Lafontaine’s ‘magnetic’ agency, but to also move the question into an entirely different problem space and, thereby, converting an (otherwise) insoluble problem into a puzzle.

He was also *timely*; using easily understood, technically achievable methods, clearly expressed in terms that were comprehensible to the working scientists of his day, with implications that were well capable of being appreciated. Moreover, Braid’s later research into *ideodynamic effects* influenced the work of his friends and colleagues Carpenter and Noble, thus meeting Hook’s (2002, p.15) additional criterion of not only being linked to canonical knowledge, but *also altering that canon in some way*.

Given Gerson’s (2002, pp.284-285) observation that discoveries made “outside [a given field] remain unconnected to [that field’s] canonical knowledge”, the significance of Braid belonging to “*the right scientific community for [his discovery] to be integrated into on-going work*” (Jones, 2002, p.325, my emphasis) can never be overstated.

2.4 Boundary Work

Gieryn’s (1983, 1999) cartographic metaphor, “*boundary-work*”, labels the enterprise of settling what lies within the specific ‘territory’ of a profession/ discipline, by stipulating, promoting, expanding, or defending the territory of ‘us’ (‘insiders’) in relation to ‘them’ (‘outsiders’) who lurk about ‘our’ borders. Gieryn’s enterprise examined:

- (a) the *manner* in which boundary features are identified;
- (b) the *way* in which boundaries are drawn;
- (c) the *strategies* through which boundaries are established;

- (d) the *mechanisms* through which the boundaries are defended; and
- (e) the *means* of monitoring the on-going relevance of current boundaries within the current context.

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According to Nielsen and Štrbánová (2008, p.345), most professionalisation efforts involve:

- (a) “*expansion of authority or expertise into domains claimed by other professions or occupations*”;
- (b) “*monopolization of professional authority and resources*”; and
- (c) “*protection of autonomy over professional activities*”;

and, therefore, they argue, “boundary-work is never-ending since the [discipline’s] context and [the] expectations [of its members] constantly change over time”.

2.5 The “Gentleman Scientist”

“Gentlemen scientists” (see Ginzburg, 1934, p.14) were “*genuine*” scientists, of independent means, who pursued “*genuine*” scientific studies, experimentation, and research, *entirely on their own initiative* (see Shapin, 1991; Sarasohn, 2004, etc.).

2.6 The Professional Practitioner

Fournier’s examination of the evolution of the “professional practitioner” *at a time when ‘scientific medicine’ was earnestly distancing itself from ‘folk medicine’* (1999, 2000, 2002) noted “[the significant] rise of the gentleman scientist ... driven by the noble motives and calling befitting a ‘gentleman’ [and] the disinterested calling of science, rather than commercial interests”, and how the consequent “gentrification” of the practice significantly increased the practice’s “respectability and legitimacy” (2002, p.123-126). Such pioneering development is always followed by the inevitable popularisation of *that* specific practice (its technologies, apparatus, etc.) amongst the masses, with the equally inevitable rise of the untrained (or poorly trained) practitioner – with the “home amateur” (N.B. *amateur*, ‘lover of...’) on one hand, and the “quack” on the other.

According to Fournier (ibid.), the “home amateur” (“driven by altruistic motives and enthusiasm”) *and* the “unscrupulous quack” (“driven by profit motives”) are equally despised by the “professional practitioners”, who expend considerable effort emphasising the “danger” of “amateurism” – particularly through the ‘horror stories’ they tell anyone who will listen – in order to legitimate (and position) the practice itself as:

- (a) highly efficacious (thus, highly dangerous if misapplied);
- (b) scientific (thus, a serious, knowledge-based practice); and

- (c) [from the implied “corruption” of the ‘amateur’ and ‘quack’] something that demands “purity” (thus, demanding a “responsible professional” for its safe delivery).

Fournier (2000, p.69) concluded that “boundary work [is] central to the establishment and reproduction of the professions”; and, as such, it involves two central activities:

- (A) “the constitution of an ‘independent and self-contained field of knowledge’ as the basis upon which professions can build their authority and exclusivity” (ibid.); and
 (B) “the labour of division which goes into erecting and maintaining boundaries between the professions and various other groups” (ibid.).

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Abbott (1988, p.9) concluded that activity (A) involved *re-defining* the profession’s “problems and tasks”, *defending* them “from interlopers”, as well as the *seizure* of “new problems [and] new territory [just] as medicine has recently seized alcoholism, mental illness, hyperactivity in obesity and numerous other things”. Agreeing with Abbott on (A), Fournier (ibid.) characterised activity (B) as *social closure* (“an occupational group appropriating a field as its exclusive area of jurisdiction and expertise”), stressing the importance of “the making of this field into a legitimate area of knowledge of, and intervention on, the world”.

The real-world issue of what is ‘insiderly’ (or, who is an ‘insider’) has considerable significance. In their separation from ‘others’, ‘professionals’ gain certain specific legal rights: to operate particular dangerous machinery (X-Ray machines), possess certain controlled substances (ethyl alcohol), perform certain life-threatening activities (spinal manipulations), give orders to otherwise free citizens (quarantine those with communicable diseases), have all or part of the cost of their interventions subsidised (health insurance), etc.

3. *Innovation, Development, and Change*

3.1 *Braid vs. Lafontaine*

Initially, Braid was eager to prove that his entirely different ‘upwards inwards squint plus mental concentration’ approach induced a ‘state’ *identical* to that produced by Lafontaine’s method; however, he immediately realised that *identity* was impossible, and began arguing that his ‘state’ was *analogous* to that of Lafontaine’s.

Within weeks, he knew that, regardless of whatever ‘state’ Lafontaine might (or might not) induce, his own procedures induced an entirely different ‘state’ – given that a ‘state’ is stable, is something that persists/endures over a stretch of time, and “though it may arise, or be acquired, as a result of change, and though it may provide the potential of change, the state itself does not constitute a change” (Mourelatos, 1981, p.192) – which provided an entirely different set of

resources, of an entirely different nature, that could be harnessed and directed in remarkably different ways, in pursuit of entirely different therapeutic goals.

Consequently, Lafontaine's theories, practices, and techniques became totally irrelevant to Braid and his ongoing enterprise.

3.2 *Debunking vs. Better Explanation*

In his quest to identify any contributing deception, collusion, and/or delusion within Lafontaine's performance, Braid knew that identifying the deception of a "professional trickster" in a particular case did not necessarily disprove the potential "authenticity" of other cases involving 'non-tricksters' (also, for instance, Doyle, 1922, p.3); therefore, Braid's failure to identify any intentional deception is highly significant – unlike the case of the outright bogusness of the "Cottingley Fairies" (thought to be genuine by the credulous Doyle).

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De-bunking is the identification (and removal) of "bunk" (Woodward, 1923; Cook & Lewandowsky, 2012); and, in debunking Lafontaine's 'metaphysical' claims, it is significant that Braid did not offer a *better explanation* of those claims, instead, he *emphatically demonstrated that they had no foundation whatsoever*.

In January 2003, beachside Coogee, New South Wales, was jammed with hundreds of superstitious individuals, who imagined that, when viewed from the precise location of the doorway of the laundrette at 128 Beach Street, Coogee – between the hours of 3:15 PM and 4:30 PM, on days the sun was shining brightly – an apparition of the Virgin Mary could be seen on Dolphins Point some 350 metres distant (see Cusack, 2003). It was clear to rational beings that it was an optical illusion, where – in the hottest part of a cloudless summer day, with the sun directly behind one – one's view of a jointed section of a picket fence was distorted by heat haze (see photo at UA.1).

By analogy, Braid didn't offer a better 'metaphysical' explanation of Lafontaine's claims (e.g., that it wasn't an apparition of the Virgin Mary, but one of, say, Mary McKillop), he *debunked* them entirely, demonstrating that all of Lafontaine's 'magnetic' claims were entirely false (e.g., by demonstrating that 'the apparition' was 100% due to an optical illusion).

However, along with his 'subtraction', Braid also recognised the possibility that, with all of the "bunk" removed from a once rational practice – the theoretical foundations for which were now shown to be totally invalid – there might still be something valuable in the residue.

To use mathematical terminology, whilst Braid clearly verified Lafontaine's claim that the *direction* of the superior-operator-to-inferior-subject physical arrangement was critical, he also proved that Lafontaine was totally wrong: in that the significant *sense* of the arrangement was the upwards subject-to-operator gaze, not the downwards operator-to-subject gaze (see Yeates, 2018b, p.64, Fig.7).

3.3 "Mesmerism"

Despite Braid's constant references to "*mesmerism*", it must be stressed that Braid was not interested in the work of the 'magnetists', nor was he, in the long-term, interested in any of the theories and practices sheltering beneath the umbrella term "*mesmerism*". In the earliest stages of his investigations, he simply used "*mesmerism*" as a generic label to denote a set of activities, within which, whatever it was that was going on, the 'it' that was going on was not 'magnetic' in any way.

3.4 Braid's Position

I trust the experiments performed here this evening have satisfied the company who have honoured me with their presence. I can honestly avow they have been done fairly, and simply with the view of eliciting truth.

I consider they have been conclusive in establishing the fact I undertook to prove, namely, that the phenomena produced by animal contact; and [10] *without* animal agency, farther than that exercised by the individual to be magnetised, are one and the same.

... In as far as the study of the subject may be calculated to throw light on the treatment of disease, I shall not lose sight of it; but my professional engagements are too numerous to permit me to devote much time to the investigation as a mere toy or pastime.

... It is not my present intention to take up more time in delivering public lectures on the subject for, as already named, I cannot do so without encroaching on my professional engagements; and I have too much devotion to my profession, and too deep a sense of the responsibilities which it involves, to suffer mesmerism or any other purely scientific pursuit, to abstract my mind from what is, and ought to be, the great object of my life – the study of what means can best alleviate the ills that flesh is heir to. (*Great applause.*)

(James Braid's concluding comments
[third lecture, 8 December 1841: MT.1])

In between his *experimentum crucis* and his third lecture, Braid had made quite remarkable progress; he had already:

- (a) demonstrated that there was no foundation for Lafontaine's claims of 'magnetic' agency for his phenomena;
- (b) discovered his 'upwards inwards squint plus mental concentration' induction technique;

- (c) developed a *physical* (rather than *metaphysical* or *mental*) explanation for the effects of his induction technique;
- (d) determined that it was the upwards direction of the subject's gaze that was crucial, and that the physical form of whatever object upon which the subject's upwards-directed gaze was fixed was irrelevant;
- (e) learned to exclude those who were excited, restless, unable to concentrate – or, in particular, physiologically unable to fix their gaze for an extended time – from his demonstrations and experiments;
- (f) discovered the significant advantage, in terms of maximising their capacity to concentrate, of having his subjects sitting in an erect posture, rather than reclining; and
- (g) demonstrated that his induction technique could produce somnolence, catalepsy, and insensibility.

Braid began applying his new technique in his own practice; and, as well as appraising the ever-widening range of his own clinical applications and experimental work, he was greatly influenced by the challenges from the performances of his demonstration subjects; audience questions; and medical colleagues' observations, comments, and/or objections during private *conversazioni*. His observations of the work of others, and the views generally expressed about himself and his work also made significant contributions.

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4. Braid's Colleagues

Having delivered what he thought was his 'last-ever public lecture' on 8 December 1841, Braid left it to a colleague, Captain Thomas Brown, former President of the Royal Physical Society of Edinburgh, and a friend, Mr. Jonathan Duncan, son of the former Governor of Bombay (see Goodwin, 1888), to broadcast the foundation principles of his discoveries and demonstrate his methods.

MESMERISM.

The important discoveries of Mr. Braid, Surgeon, Manchester, on this subject, by which he has exhibited on almost every individual at *first trial*, including somnolency, insensibility to pains, the cataleptiform state, somnambulism, including sleep-walking, sleep-talking, dancing, and various volutions desired, *clairvoyance*, so that the patient can tell what is presented before them, whilst the eyelids seem quite closed, &c., have invested this subject an extraordinary degree of interest.

That gentleman's professional engagements precluding the possibility of his delivering lectures in the various towns in the neighbourhood, in order that his views may be exhibited, he has kindly given such instructions and extracts from his lectures as to enable Captain THOMAS BROWN, Member of the Royal Physical Society, M.W.S., &c., so to do, and he purposes delivering a LECTURE on the subject at Liverpool, on Wednesday evening next, the 15th inst.

He will illustrate all these effects on subjects already tested, and by others who may present themselves from the audience.

Capt. B. also intends to repeat his Lecture at the following towns in succession, viz.:—Bolton, Stockport, Warrington, Preston, Wigan, Oldham, Rochdale, Bury, Ashton, &c.

Fig.1. Brown's Proposed Lectures,
The Manchester Times, 11 December 1841 (Brown, 1841).

4.1 Captain Thomas Brown (1785-1862), FRSE, FLS, FRPSE

Captain Thomas Brown, the eminent natural philosopher (e.g., Brown, 1827, 1829, 1844, 1845, etc.) attended Braid's public lectures and *conversazione*, providing moral support. He not only attended Catlow, Lafontaine, Keenan, and Dunn's lectures, voicing the strongest support for Braid, but also, on occasion, published spirited defences of Braid's character and his work (e.g., Brown, 1842a, 1842b).

Brown delivered a number of lectures on Braid's behalf at various locations in the Manchester and Liverpool area over the next three weeks or so (Fig.1). From all accounts, Brown's lectures were successful.

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MESMERISM.

THIS EVENING, the 21st of December, at the London Tavern, Bishopsgate-street, Mr. JONATHAN DUNCAN will deliver a LECTURE illustrating the phenomena usually attributed to animal magnetism, but which he will, for the first time, explain on strict physiological and anatomical principles.

The assumed existence of a magnetic fluid will be demonstrated to be untrue, and the various states of somnolency, somnambulism, catalepsy, and clairvoyance will be produced without personal contact or any manipulation whatever.

The great object of the lecturer will be to strip the subject of the mystery in which it has hitherto been veiled.

Admission, 2s. 6d. The lecture will commence at precisely half-past 7.

Fig.2. Duncan's First Lecture, *The Times*, 21 December 1841 (Duncan, 1841a).

4.2 Mr. Jonathan Duncan (1799-1865), BA

Jonathan Duncan, the historian, journalist, prominent literary figure (e.g., Duncan, 1825, 1839a, 1839b, 1840), a strong advocate of reforming the monetary system (e.g., Duncan, 1849), attended Braid's second Manchester lecture (4 December 1841). He delivered four lectures on Braid's behalf in London: two in late December 1841 (21 and 29 December: Figs.2 and 3), and two in early January 1842 (6 and 7 January: Duncan 1842). Duncan's first lecture, delivered to a disruptive audience, was not well received (TMT.1; ToL.1).

MESMERISM.

On Friday, the 31st December, at 2 o'clock, p.m., at the Hanover-square Rooms, Mr. JONATHAN DUNCAN will deliver a LECTURE on the PHENOMENA of ANIMAL MAGNETISM, which he will produce without personal contact or any manipulations whatever.

He will exhibit the experiments performed by Mr. James Braid, the discoverer of the new system, as witnessed by thousands of persons in Manchester, and faithfully recorded in the truthful and ungarbled reports of all the Manchester newspapers of the current month.

At the close of the lecture experiments will be performed on the audience, provided the conditions of the lecturer are honourably fulfilled.

Admission, 2s. 6d. Tickets may be obtained at the Hanover-square Rooms.

Fig.3. Duncan's Second Lecture, *The Times*, 29 December 1841 (Duncan, 1841b).

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His second lecture, delivered on 29 December 1841, was far more successful (see TMC.1; and TMT.2). The significant differences in the second lecture's advertisement (Fig.3) – rewritten in consultation with Braid – may explain the absence of the first lecture's chaos. Not only was it delivered at a different venue and different time of day, it was advertised as being concerned with Braid's discoveries and methods alone, rather than with either “mesmerism” or “animal magnetism” (à la Lafontaine) in general. [Also, in that second lecture, Duncan announced that Braid was coming to London as soon as Braid could leave his Manchester practice.]

Duncan's two January lectures were unremarkable. On 8 January 1842, *The Medical Times* published a letter from one “EB, MD” (1842) – most likely the same individual as “A Correspondent” (1841a, 1841b, 1841c) – who had attended Duncan's third lecture, and examined his subjects.

“EB”, who had seen both Lafontaine and Elliotson operate, was quite satisfied that Duncan generated kindred phenomena, but felt that Duncan's demonstration was “inconclusive”; and that, as distinct from “a mesmeric state”, Duncan's subjects had displayed the effects of “a *monotonismic state*” as a consequence of their long-held stare (“EB, MD”, 1842). [For another example of ‘monotonism’ see TCM.1.] Notwithstanding his criticism of Duncan's presentation, he felt there was much in “the theory of Mr. Braid” that warranted further investigation.

5. Lafontaine's Return to Manchester

Having delivered four demonstrations in Birmingham (MT.3), Lafontaine returned to Manchester and delivered another five demonstrations in December 1841 before leaving, promising to return (which he never did) with a new set of subjects, and demonstrating a full range of the “higher phenomena” (see Yeates, 2013, pp.180-197, 207-211),

- (a) still arguing that, “the principle upon which he acted ... was that magnetism was effected by the communication of a fluid, through the nerves, from the magnetiser to the magnetised” (MT.2), and
- (b) still complaining that, without access to medical facilities, he could not demonstrate “*the power of animal magnetism as a curative agent*”, but only “*the existence [of] animal magnetism as an agent*” (MG.1; emphasis added), and
- (c) still displaying his characteristic lack of success with volunteers from the audience.

5.1 Lafontaine's Repudiation of Braid.

Lafontaine spoke no English; Braid spoke no French (MG.2). Before Lafontaine's fourth lecture (17 December 1841), his interpreter read a prepared statement (in English) on Lafontaine's behalf

(MG.1; annotated transcription at Yeates, *ibid.*, pp.552-557); the burden of which was that, whatever Braid might have done had no connection whatsoever with the 'magnetic' phenomena that Lafontaine demonstrated.

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5.2 Braid's Rebuttal

Before delivering his fifth (28 December 1841) lecture, Braid read a carefully prepared rebuttal to a packed house, (MG.5; annotated transcription at Yeates, *ibid.*, pp.559-568), the burden of which was that:

- (a) given Lafontaine's recent behaviour, Braid no longer considered him honest;
- (b) Lafontaine had misrepresented both Braid's experiments and his views;
- (c) instead of demonstrating Braid's procedures honestly and accurately, he had indulged in "buffoonery", presenting "overdrawn caricatures" of those procedures;
- (d) there were significant errors in Lafontaine's statement of 17 December 1841 (Braid cited evidence from a wide range of newspaper reports); and
- (e) there were serious problems with both Lafontaine's subject selection, and the manner in which his technical demonstrations had been conducted.

6. Experiments with Animals Exclude "Imagination" Explanations

On 24 December 1841, an editorial in *The Manchester Guardian* (MG.4) expressed the hope that Lafontaine and Braid would concentrate on investigating the practical applications of the phenomena involved; and – referring to "a book that has [recently] been published on the power of mesmerizing the brute creation" – suggested that the question of whether (or not) "the power of the imagination" was involved – as, for instance, d'Henin de Cuvillers (1821) with his "*phantasiéxoussisme*" (Greek, *phantasia*, 'imagination', and *exousia*, 'power') had supposed – could be conclusively settled by conducting experiments on animals.

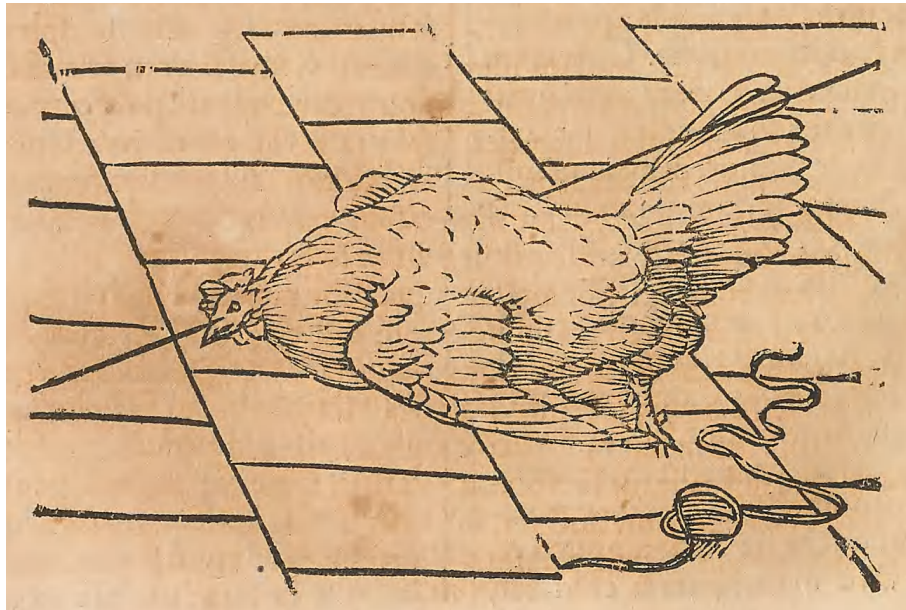


Fig.4. A transfixed rooster displaying cataleptic immobility (Kircher, 1671, p.112).

[15]

The book in question, *Trials of Animal Magnetism on the Brute Creation* (Wilson, 1839), had been written to refute claims of deception, collusion, and delusion, and provided details of a large number of experiments using “animal magnetism” on the “brute creation” (i.e., ‘lower animals’), including cats, dogs, fish, fowls, goats, macaws, horses, pigs, and elephants.

6.1 Braid's Experiments

Braid began experimenting with the approaches of Schwenter (1651) and Kircher (1671). Kircher's technique involved holding a chicken's head against the ground, extending its neck, and drawing a line continuously along the ground, starting at its beak (see Fig.4). Braid soon proved that there was no need for a chalk line (and, also, that it didn't matter whether the chicken was prone or supine): a finding he publicly demonstrated during his tenth public lecture, in Manchester, on 31 March 1842 (MG.9).

These experiments involved what later became known as “*animal hypnosis*” (see, for example, Czermak, 1873; Yerkes, 1900; Weitzenhoffer, 2000; and Cheyne, 2016) and, by the 1920s, as “*tonic immobility*”. In a letter written just before his death, Braid spoke of continuously experimenting over an 18-year period, along the lines suggested by Schwenter and Kircher, specifically to refute the “manifestly erroneous” claims that “[his] theory of hypnotism [had] been anticipated by Kirscher's and Swinter's [sic] experiments with fowls” – rather than, that is, experimenting in order to further develop his own hypnotic theories (Braid, 1860).

At his sixth lecture, at Liverpool, on 22 January 1842, “[Braid] incidentally remarked that [using his eye-fixation technique] he had mesmerised a lion and dogs, but that [had] found it impossible to affect a tiger, from the habitual restlessness of that animal” (FJ.1). His ninth lecture's (12 March

1842) advertisement announced that “Mr.B. will also explain the mode of mesmerising animals; and that it was by this agency [that the renowned American lion tamer Isaac] Van Amburgh gained his wonderful ascendancy over the *wild animals* he exhibited” (Braid, 1842c); and, by his tenth lecture (31 March 1842), Braid was declaring that “he had mesmerized a lion, tiger, and leopard at the [Manchester] Zoological Gardens” (MG.9). At his twelfth lecture, at Liverpool, on 6 April 1842, he successfully demonstrated (on stage) both “*animal hypnosis*” on a fowl, and his eye-fixation technique on a small poodle dog (LIM.3). [There is no reliable evidence of Lafontaine ever ‘magnetising’ any animal of any description while he was in the U.K.]

In the 1960s Wink (1969, p.15) interviewed Braid’s great-great nephew, who said that his mother had often been in the company of Braid and her grandfather, Braid’s cousin, William Braid (1789-1872), who lived near Oxted in Surrey. His mother told him that, for the remainder of Braid’s life, the two cousins took great delight in hypnotising farm animals whenever Braid visited Oxted.

[16]

6.2 Völgyesi’s Experiments

Ferenc András Völgyesi, the renowned neurologist and hypnotist, conducted numerous experiments on birds, reptiles, animals, and primates at the Budapest Zoo in 1936 (Völgyesi, 1938). Sitting astride a strong and restless young lion, and using ‘Braid’s eye-fixation method’ (see Fig.5), Völgyesi made the animal ‘hypnotically passive’ (“...mit Hilfe der Braid’schen Augenfixationsmethode *hypnotisch-passiv gemacht*” (p.128); and the lion remained rigid for several minutes once Völgyesi had climbed off his back.

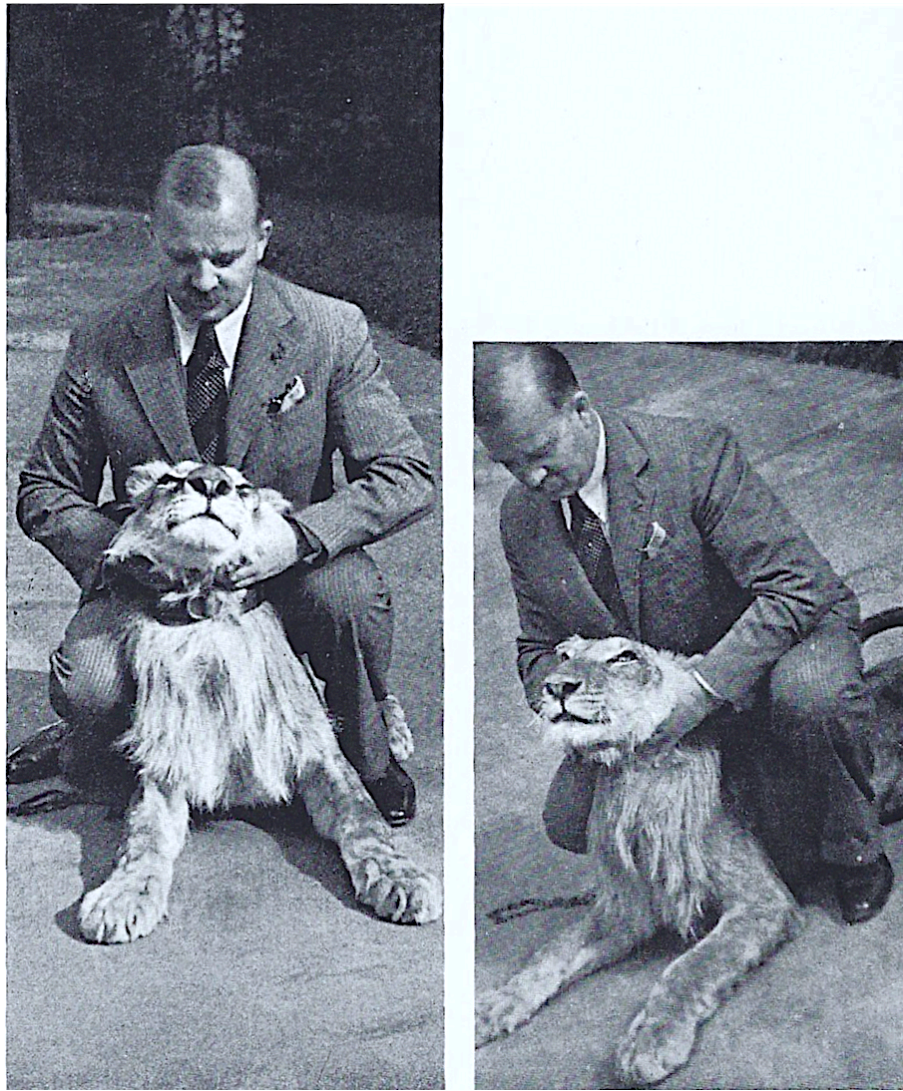


Fig.5. Völgyesi using Braid's 'eye-fixation method' on a young lion at the Budapest Zoo in 1936 (Völgyesi, 1938, Abb.79, p.128).

7. Braid's Second Set of Lectures (Manchester and Liverpool)

Although Braid's third lecture was meant to be his last, he was soon prevailed upon to "repeat his lecture" on 17 December 1841 in order to "[dispel] the disappointment experienced [by many] from the short notice given of [his third] lecture" (Day, 1841). In this fourth lecture (MG.3), Braid stressed that, rather than being "a mere speculation", "mesmerism" — i.e., *Braid's "mesmerism"*, as distinct from Lafontaine's [17] "*animal magnetism*" — was "a subject of great practical importance" and that "the well-directed application of mesmerism was of vast importance to suffering humanity" and "would be found [to be] one of the most important accessions yet made to the therapeutical agencies employed by the medical profession".

Braid delivered a fifth lecture, at the Manchester Athenaeum on 28 December 1841. Although his fourth and fifth lectures reflected his advances in both technique and understanding, the only significant difference from his earlier presentations was that, as well as demonstrating his induction techniques with both his

own subjects and audience volunteers, he produced several of his own successfully treated patients for objective appraisal and public scrutiny.

Braid's sixth lecture was delivered in Liverpool on 22 January 1842. As well as conducting various demonstrations and describing various experiments with animals, he spoke of his rapidly developing understanding of the extent to which his procedures could address an ever-widening range of conditions and, as well, facilitate pain-free surgery (SRI.1).

NEUROHYPNOLOGY; or, The Rationale of Nervous Sleep.

Hanover-square Rooms and the London Tavern.

Mr. JAMES BRAID, surgeon, of Manchester, the discoverer of the system which refers the phenomena popularly attributed to mesmerism or animal magnetism to physical and anatomical principles, intends to deliver TWO LECTURES, explanatory and illustrative of his theory, in the metropolis.

On these occasions, male adults, born deaf and dumb, and who have been restored to permanent hearing by Mr. Braid's mode of treatment, will be introduced to the audience.

The application of Mr. Braid's system to the cure of various diseases will be explained, as well as a plan for producing refreshing sleep without the use of opiates.

Each lecture will be illustrated by various experiments, on different subjects of both sexes.

The Lectures will be delivered at the Hanover-square Rooms, on Tuesday, March 1 at 2 o'clock; and at the London Tavern, on Wednesday evening, 8 o'clock.

Tickets, 3s. 6d., may be obtained at the Hanover Rooms, or the London Tavern.

Fig.6. Braid's London Lectures, *The Times*, 28 February 1842 (Braid, 1842a).

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8. Braid's Third Set of Lectures (London)

In between Braid's sixth lecture, in Liverpool on 22 February 1842, and his seventh lecture in London, on 1 March 1842, Braid's enterprise developed further.

Having rejected Lafontaine's claims of 'magnetic' agency, and in order to separate what he would later describe (Braid, 1850, p.vi) as 'his' *rational* mesmerism from 'their' *metaphysical* mesmerism – and on the grounds that his system “[was] founded altogether upon nervous action, consequent upon a particular state of the brain and spinal column” (MT.4) – Braid began using “*neurohypnology*” rather than “mesmerism” for his approach, to specifically stress that the effects “[were] produced through the medium of the nervous system” (TMT.3). His advertisement (Fig.6) was the first time that the generic term *neurohypnology* appeared in print.

Braid delivered “two very excellent lectures” (TMT.3) to an entirely new audience in London on 1 and 2 March 1842, “giving his audience a detailed explanation of the theory and phenomena of animal magnetism, and entered fully into the subject, illustrating the paper by physiological facts, and several interesting anecdotes” (ibid.). He performed several experiments, including displays of insensibility, and considerable improvement in the hearing of two profoundly deaf brothers. He also conducted a separate *conversazione* whilst in London, wherein, among other impressive demonstrations, he hypnotised Herbert Mayo (see below).

9. Three Significant Figures

9.1 Joseph Peel Catlow (1798-1861), LSA, MRCS(Edin.)

As discussed earlier (Yeates, 2018b, pp.69-70), Joseph Peel Catlow, a general practitioner and one of the founders of the Manchester Medical Society (Elwood & Tuxford, 1984, p.194) made an (otherwise unsupported claim) for priority over

ANIMAL MAGNETISM, or MESMERISM.

On Thursday the 3d of February, at the Athenæum, at eight p.m.
 Mr. CATLOW will introduce his LECTURES by an inductive and comparative series of original experiments on all the senses exemplifying the elementary fact that connects together the real effects of mesmerism, and allies them to mental and other natural phenomena.

Among other novelties, Mr. Catlow will operate with a newly-invented mesmeric or soporific machine, and will make his experiments bear usefully on the induction of natural sleep.

Admission, 1s.
 Tickets to be had at No.23, Sidney-street, Oxford-street: at Mr. Sowler's; *Courier* office; and at the doors – which will open at half-past seven p.m.

Fig.7. Catlow's First Lecture (Catlow, 1842).

[19]

Braid, and, for some time, displayed animosity towards Braid. He delivered a series of lectures on “Animal Magnetism or Mesmerism” in 1842; and, also, he delivered another series of lectures on “Rational Mesmerism and Phreno-Mesmerism” in 1843

Aside from his “most virulent attacks on Mr. Braid” and his “passing a very florid panegyric upon himself, and claiming certain facts as being his own discovery” (MT.11), Catlow's demonstrations were not persuasive, with each of his demonstration subjects having been firstly subjected to the procedures of either Braid or Lafontaine – or in many cases, both.

In a manner that would not be seen again until the “laborious, monotonous, ‘sleep, sleep, sleep’ hypnotic inductions [of Liébeault and Bernheim in the 1880s]” (Yeates, 2016a, p.12), Catlow’s approach involved the induction of “sleep” by the total overload of each of the target sensory domains (sight, touch, taste, hearing, and smell) in turn (see Yeates, 2013, pp.238-239); and, on occasion, “induction by articulation”, wherein the subject repeated specific words or phrases, whilst Catlow beat time with a stick (one subject repeated the word “cup” 456 times (!!)) before they ‘fell asleep’).

Braid attended Catlow’s second lecture (on 17 February 1842). This lecture was remarkable for the first appearance of Catlow’s newly-invented “soporific machine” (Figs.8 and 9); the application of which was intended to conclusively prove that, whatever state Catlow’s procedures might produce, physical contact between operator and subject was not required (MG.7). [An exhaustive search within Woodcroft’s *Index* (1854) indicates that no attempt was ever made, at any time, to patent this device.]

[A "deaf and dumb" female], 32 years of age, was next brought forward and mesmerized [initially by Lafontaine's method], and afterwards by the soporific machine.

This instrument, which is wound up like a clock, was placed on the patient's stomach; and, when allowed to run down, it made a rattling noise, resembling, in some respects, that produced by a watchman's rattle.

The sense of hearing was powerfully acted upon by means of two brass cups, which covered the patient's ears, and were attached to the sides of the instrument by metallic rods.

The rattling was thus brought to bear with concentrated force on the organs of hearing; and, in less than a minute, the patient was asleep.

While in this state, she uttered several involuntary ejaculations [viz., short, hasty, emotional utterances] . . .

Fig.8. The “soporific machine” at Catlow’s second lecture (MG.6).

[20]

[A 'normal' boy was] subjected to the action of the soporific machine, which, by means of an escapement, produced a vibrating noise, communicated to his ears by two brass cups affixed to the instrument.

The vibration also caused the waving before his eyes of a small address card [N.B. the "address card" card was absent from Catlow's first demonstration], so as to produce a slight fanning; and, at the same time, alternate light and shadow.

With his fists clenched, to induce monotonous muscular action, sugar candy to monotonise his taste, a bottle of oil of lemons suspended at his nostrils to overcome the sense of smell, and Mr. Catlow gently brushing his forehead to affect the sense of touch, the lad sunk to sleep; monotony thus assailing and wearying every sense. . . .

Fig.9. The "soporific machine" at Catlow's third lecture (MG.7).

Catlow's theoretical position had little in common with Braid's (e.g., see *Neurypnology*, [hereinafter, *N*] pp.58-69). Catlow held the strong view that both Lafontaine and Braid's effects were entirely due to 'natural sleep'. Because Catlow "believed there was no sleep in nature but natural sleep", and "that every mode of sleep of a living being was natural, under whatever circumstances produced, *all the difference was in the circumstances inducing it*", he was certain that "the dispute as between natural and mesmeric sleep appeared to have no basis whatever", (MG.7, emphasis added).

9.2 John Lewis Barrallier (1785-1850), LSA, MRCS(Eng.)

Mr Barrallier, an intelligent surgeon, of Milford ... investigated the subject of Hypnotism with much zeal and success, and published some interesting experiments on the subject in the *Medical Times*...

(James Braid, *N*, p.77)

Lewis Barrallier, a surgeon – the son of maritime architect Jean-Louis Barrallier, and brother of Australian explorer Lieutenant-Colonel Francis Louis Barrallier (1773-1853) (see Parsons, 1966) – who became a member of the Royal College of Surgeons of England in 1834 (LMJ.1), and a Licentiate of Apothecaries' Hall in 1835 (LMG.1), read the *Medical Times*' account of Duncan's 31 December 1841 lecture (i.e., TMT.2) and immediately conducted several experiments.

On 9 January 1842, he wrote to the *Medical Times* (1842a), praising Braid and his work, dismissing Catlow's claims of priority, and reporting hitherto unknown effects of Braid's 'cork-on-the-forehead' technique: including significant (unsought) improvement in the hearing of a profoundly deaf subject, and one subject "[who] remained one hour and a half in the magnetic state ... with the arms extended [until restored]".

[21]

He wrote a second letter on 15 January (1842b). Readily adopting the term “monotonization” from “EB, MD” (1842), Barrallier spoke disparagingly of Catlow and Lafontaine, described several interesting experiments, and noted that “under all circumstances, Mr. Braid’s discoveries open a wide field of inquiry”. He wrote on 8 February 1842 (1842c), clarifying certain matters, again praising Braid and pouring scorn on Catlow. On 12 February 1842, he wrote a fourth letter (1842d), describing experiments that proved Catlow’s ‘effects’ were the consequence of his subjects having been previously “monotonized” by Braid’s method, and concluding there was no foundation for Catlow’s claims (and, also, that his soporific machine would contribute nothing of value).

Apart from the encouragement Braid received from “the remarks of your talented correspondent, Mr. Barrallier” (Braid, 1842b) in the *Medical Times*, they were also responsible for Braid experimenting on the profoundly deaf, with great success.

9.3 Herbert Mayo (1796-1852), MD, FRS, FRCS

As to the *modus operandi* [of neuro-hypnotism], we may never be able to account for it so as to satisfy all objections; but neither can we tell why the law of gravitation should act, as experience has taught us it does act.

Still, as our ignorance of the cause of gravitation acting as it is known to do, does not prevent us profiting by an accumulation of the facts known as to its results; so ought not our ignorance of the whole laws of the *modus operandi* of the exoneural state, to prevent us studying it practically, and applying it beneficially, when we have the power of doing so.

(James Braid, in his 12 March 1842 public lecture [MG.8])

Herbert Mayo, distinguished scientist and life-long proponent of mesmerism first met Braid at his London *conversazione*. [It is significant that, like Elliotson – who attributed Braid’s success to the possession of a “magnetic temperament” (Braid, 1852, p.37) – Mayo attributed Braid’s success to his “personal Od-influence” (Mayo, 1851, p. 239).] Mayo not only examined Braid’s subjects, but also submitted himself to Braid’s procedures. He wrote to Braid on 8 May 1842 (Mayo, 1842a), drawing Braid’s attention to his own earlier advocacy (Mayo, 1838) of abandoning the “objectionable” term “animal magnetism”, because it suggested “[an] affinity ... between these phenomena and common magnetism”, and adopting new terminology for this “remarkable class of phenomena”; viz.:

(a) *esoneural* (‘operating within the nerves’): i.e., the “ordinary phenomena of the nervous system”; and

(b) *exoneural* (‘operating outside the nerves’): i.e., the ‘phenomena of the mind’.

And, further (ibid.), *exoneurism* denoted either:

- (a) “the change produced in the nervous system of a living being by a peculiar influence *from without*, or (looking to the cause instead of to the effect) the action of the nervous influence of a living being *beyond* the limits of its frame”; or
- (b) “the action of the mental principle independently of or *without* its usual organs”.

[22]

In his letter (1842a), Mayo remarked that, while Braid produced “the [same] condition of the nervous system [as] that obtained by the mesmerisers” – and did so “in [just] five minutes” – what Braid had produced was an “*exoneural trance*”; where, by contrast, the mesmerist’s “tedious” *esoneural* process – involving “from half to three-quarters of an hour”, compounded by “the uncertainty of producing any effect after all” – tended “to wear out the patience of experimenters, and [through this consequence] prevent the method advancing, either as a subject of inquiry, or its being brought into general use as a curative means”.

Mayo reminded Braid that, in relation to his investigations in this “hitherto unexplored field of nervous agency”, Braid should take comfort that, despite its widespread practical use, it took many centuries for the compass needle to be satisfactorily explained. Moreover, in a second letter (1842b), written on 9 March 1842, Mayo declared that, if it was shown that other operators – i.e., *ordinary* operators, other than the *extraordinary* Braid – could, also, “throw susceptible persons into the trance ... in five minutes”, Braid would certainly have made a “great practical step”; which, even by this early stage, Braid had (obviously) already made.

- (1) The eyelids close convulsively after a few minutes.
- (2) A member of the subject moved by the operator to a different position retains that position indefinitely no matter how uncomfortable or strange (“cataleptoid” condition).
- (3) Left to himself the subject passes into a profound torpor.
- (4) On returning to his normal wakeful state the subject has amnesia for all events that may have taken place after closure of the eyes. These memories are, however, recoverable when the subject is again hypnotized (phenomenon of “double consciousness”).

Fig.10. The four characteristic features of *neurohypnotism* initially observed by Braid (Weitzenhoffer, 2000, p.33).

10. Braid's Fourth Set of Lectures (Manchester, Liverpool, and Macclesfield)

10.1 Five Stages

Braid's set of fifteen public lectures between his 20 November 1841 *experimentum crucis* on and his 29 June 1842 BAAS *conversazione* were composed of five evolutionary stages; with, perhaps, the fourth stage displaying the greatest advances of them all:

- **Stage One** (three lectures: 27 November, 4 and 8 December 1841): in which Braid demonstrated (on his own subjects and audience volunteers) that Lafontaine's "catalepsy", "insensibility", and "somnolence" were not due to 'magnetic agency' at all, but were a consequence of a (replicable) physiological reflex.

[23]

[As Boardman (2005) notes, Braid's lectures were significantly different from those of the "mesmeric demonstrators" in that, rather than exclusively "using his own tried and tested subjects", Braid also "readily accepted volunteers from the audience" (p.48).]

- **Stage Two** (three lectures: 17, 28 December 1841, and 22 January 1842): in which Braid outlined his enterprise and its progress, stressing its clinical importance, and introduced particular patients as objective proof of his approach's success.
[NB: In stressing the magnitude of earlier treatment failures, he was not criticising the ability of the practitioners involved, but was highlighting the inadequacy of medical knowledge in general (i.e., *opprobrium medicorum*: Yeates, 2018b, p.44).]
- **Stage Three** (two lectures: 1 and 2 March 1842): Braid was "[so] impressed with the importance of the subject" that, following Duncan's far from spectacular efforts, and with six weeks' further development of his own position, he went to London himself – suffering "great personal inconvenience as well as pecuniary sacrifice" – in order to have accurate

Neurypnology is derived from the Greek words *νεῦρον*, nerve ; *υπνος*, sleep ; *λογος*, a discourse ; and means the *rationale*, or *doctrine* of *nervous* sleep, which I define to be, “a peculiar condition of the nervous system, into which it can be thrown by artificial contrivance :” or thus, “a peculiar condition of the nervous system, induced by a fixed and abstracted attention of the mental and visual eye, on one object, not of an exciting nature.”

By the term “Neuro-Hypnotism,” then, is to be understood “nervous sleep ;” and, for the sake of brevity, suppressing the prefix “Neuro,” by the terms—

HYPNOTIC,	} Will be understood,	The state or condition of <i>nervous</i> sleep.
HYPNOTIZE,		To induce <i>nervous</i> sleep.
HYPNOTIZED,		One who has been put into the state of <i>nervous</i> sleep.
HYPNOTISM,		<i>Nervous</i> sleep.
DEHYPNOTIZE,		To restore from the state or condition of <i>nervous</i> sleep.
DEHYPNOTIZED,		Restored from the state or condition of <i>nervous</i> sleep.
and		
HYPNOTIST,		One who practises Neuro-Hypnotism.

Fig.11. Braid's (March 1842) terminology explained (N, pp.12-13).

[24]

versions of his techniques, theories, and practices ‘*rigidly examined*’ by “the most learned men in our profession” and, in the process, “propound to them the laws by which I consider it to act, and above all, ... prove to them the uniformity of its action, and its practical applicability and value as a curative agency” (Braid, 1842d, pp.7-8).

- **Stage Four** (five lectures: 12 and 31 March, 1, 6, and 13 April 1842, prior to Braid's private response to M'Neile's 'satanic agency' accusations): in addition to introducing his unique, distinctive, and precise terminology (Fig.11), the lectures display a gradual increase in the polish of his presentations, explanations given, clinical advances reported (especially in relation to the effects of “dominant ideas” in hypnotised subjects: e.g., Fig.12), as well as providing increasingly dramatic demonstrations (supported by an evermore impressive set of successfully treated patients) for audience scrutiny.

- **Stage Five** (two lectures: 21 and 28 April 1842, subsequent to Braid's private response to M'Neile's 'satanic agency' accusations): same as stage four, except for a brief mention (and dismissal) of M'Neile's press-reported 'satanic agency' accusations in Braid's 21 April 1842 lecture.

10.2 "Somnolence"

The initial stimulus for Braid's enterprise was Lafontaine's demonstration phenomena:

"catalepsy", "insensibility", and "somnolence". "Somnolence" was the most salient phenomena, displayed, often to the exclusion of the others, in almost all cases.

Having identified the *physiological cause* of Lafontaine's 'mesmeric state' – namely, "nervous action, consequent upon a peculiar state of the brain and spinal column" (MT.4) – Braid also knew that, although *his* "somnolence" was "analogous to what we experience in respect to the effects of wine, spirits, opium, the nitrous oxide, and many other agents" (N, p.156), it was very different from "natural sleep", "mesmeric sleep", and "magnetic sleep", and was also very different from "natural somnambulism" and "artificial somnambulism": all of which explains his decision to speak of "*nervous sleep*" in March 1842.

10.3 Braid's Objective Terminology

10.3.1 Superordinate Term

Although Braid's London advertisement (Fig.6) mentioned *Neurohypnology* as a superordinate term, it seems that the first time his subordinate terminology appeared was at his ninth (12 March 1842) lecture in Manchester. As discussed elsewhere (Yeates, 2016b, pp.29-30) Braid's valuable superordinate term is missing from today's English terminology (in part due to the emergence of Henry Gardner's "*hypnology*": see Part II [Yeates, 2018b], pp.44-45); and the current literature – displaying classic "concept creep" (Haslam, 2016) – variously ignores Braid's precise distinctions and indiscriminately applies Bernheim's misleading and grossly inappropriate term "*hypnosis*".

[25]

Moreover, the patient's mind directed to his own body does physical marvels. He can do in a manner what he thinks he can.

Place a handkerchief on a table, and beg him to try to lift it, observing, however, that you know it to be impossible, and he will groan and sweat over the cambric as though it were the anchor of a man of war; on the other hand, tell him that a fifty-six pound weight is a light cork, to be held out at arm's length on his little finger, and he will hold it out with ease. Tell him that a tumor on his body is about to disappear, and his mind will often realize your prophecy.

.....

A lady who was leaving off nursing from defect of milk, the baby being thirteen months old, was hypnotized by [Mr. Braid].

[Mr. B] made passes over the right breast to call her attention to it, and in a few moments her gestures shewed that she dreamt the baby was sucking.

In two minutes, the breast was distended with milk. She was awoke, and on being questioned whether any part of her frame felt differently from the rest, she perceived the state of her bosom, and mentioned it; to which Mr. B. replied that the baby would soon settle that.

The infant was nearly choked with the rush of milk.

In three days she came back to Mr. B. and complained that he had disfigured her, for she was protuberant on one side. He promised to take the swelling down; hypnotized her; but drew the other side also by the like means; and she nursed her child from an overflowing bosom for twenty-two months; being nine after the hypnotism.

Fig.12. Braid's "dominant idea" principle in practice (as described by James John Garth Wilkinson, MRCS: at Wilkinson, 1851, pp.474-475).

10.3.2 Subordinate Terms

Given his need for a distinctive name, Braid explained, and "[given that] sleep [was] the most constant attendant and natural analogy to the primary phenomena of Mesmerism", he had "adopted" *neurohypnology*, "the rationale or doctrine of nervous sleep", with "the prefix 'nervous' distinguishing it from natural sleep"; and further, "there are only two other words, I propose by way of innovation, and those are hypnotism for magnetism and mesmerism, and hypnotised for magnetized and mesmerized" [26] (MG.8). [NB. Although Braid correctly rendered *logos* as "discourse" (Fig.11) – as did, for instance, Spurzheim (1825, p.1) – it is far better for a modern audience, as Noel & Carlson have suggested (1970, p.696), to render *logos* as "knowledge".]

10.3.3 Importance

As Kihlstrom (1992) noted, the insightful 'boundary work' Braid performed in "bestowing a new name on certain phenomena he [had] encountered in his studies of animal magnetism and mesmerism ... was both a scientific and a political act", designed to "[clearly and unambiguously] delineate a special domain of phenomena, communicate his understanding of their nature, to alter the perception of them by his colleagues and the public at large, and basically control the reception of his work" (p.302).

Braid's new, objective terminology was also highly significant in the same way that Pyysiäinen's (2002, p.738) decision to speak of *counterintuitive events* (or *phenomena*) that are *attributed to counterintuitive agents* (or *forces*) allowed a productive discussion of "*miracles*", "*miraculous events*", and "*miraculous phenomena*" to be conducted, wherein all participants – regardless of their secular/religious allegiances or native/acquired culture – were using precisely the same terminology in exactly the same way.

10.3.4 Significance

There are four significant facts here:

- (a) (unlike Catlow, Bernheim, etc.) Braid stressed that "sleep" is a metaphor; a metaphor that must never be reified;
- (b) Braid did not invent the term *neurohypnology*;
- (c) Braid coined "hypnotism", and "hypnotise" (as *back-formations* from "neuro-hypnotism" and "neuro-hypnotise", which he had also coined); and
- (d) the 'creation myth' that the term "hypnosis" was "*coined by James Braid*" is complete nonsense. [The Bernheimian term "hypnosis" did not appear in English until Braid had been dead for thirty years – viz., in Kingsbury (1891), pp.160-162.]

10.4 Braid's Taxonomy.

Braid systematically identified a set of distinct referents (Fig.11), all of which were derived from the core concept: the peculiar state or condition of the subject, into which they have been thrown by an artificial contrivance, and Braid's strong belief that,

the effect of a continued fixation of the mental and visual eye in the manner, and with the concomitant circumstances pointed out, is to throw the nervous system into a new condition, accompanied with a state of somnolence, and a tendency, according to the mode of management, of exciting a variety of phenomena, very different from those we obtain either in ordinary sleep, or during the waking condition. (N, p.150)

[27]

Hypnotism, a term ending with the neutral, value-free nominalising suffix *-ism* (as in Buddhism, Taoism, etc.), stresses that it's an entirely natural condition; unlike the later, French, theory-driven, value-laden nominalising suffix *-osis* (*hypnosis*), which conventionally indicates pathological conditions (necrosis, cyanosis, psychosis, etc).

Given that Braid spoke of "a peculiar condition of the nervous system", "into which it can be thrown by artificial contrivance", "induced by a fixed and abstracted attention of the mental and visual eye, on one object", his core taxon can be understood as:

(caused by artifice) + (exhaustion) + (nerves) + (entry point: vision)

Although he could have named the taxon '*technoptico-neurasthenia*', from *techne*, 'artifice', *optikos*, 'of sight', *neuron*, 'nerve', and *asthenos*, 'exhaustion', I believe he chose *neuro-hypnotism* (sleep of the nerves), from *neuron*, 'nerve', and *hypnos*, 'sleep', based on:

- (a) the salient manifestation of "somnolence";
- (b) the distinctive sort of "somnolence" induced by his method;
- (c) his subjects were rapidly and easily thrown into (and out of) the "somnolent" state; and
- (d) whilst a sleeping something can be instantly aroused, an exhausted something can't be instantly replenished.

Emphasising it was only "for the sake of brevity" that *neuro-hypnotism's* significant prefix (neuro-) should be "routinely suppressed", Braid offered a taxonomy (Fig.13), whose central term was *neuro-hypnotism*, rather than the super-ordinate term, *neuro-hypnology*.

10.5 Braid's Fourth Set of Lectures

In terms of Braid's on-going 'boundary-work', these five lectures – delivered in less than five weeks – reflect the most significant advances on all fronts of his enterprise, namely:

- (a) providing a unique definition for hypnotism expressed in a manner consistent with the *canonical knowledge* of the day;
- (b) developing a logical, systematic, and complete set of distinctive technical terms;
- (c) producing the state's characteristic phenomena on demonstration subjects and volunteers;
- (d) defending its appropriateness as an entirely new therapeutic agent;
- (e) describing its ever-widening domain of clinical application;
- (f) describing its clinical efficacy in cases taken from his own in-the-field therapeutic success;

- (g) demonstrating its clinical efficacy on real patients; and
- (h) not only defending its efficacy as a 'new' therapeutic agent for 'old' problems, but also providing persuasive evidence that it was, very often, efficacious in (*opprobrium medicorum*) circumstances that had previously resisted the most skilled medical intervention (i.e., "hitherto intractable or incurable diseases") – and, therefore, was also a 'new' therapeutic agent for 'new' problems.

[28]

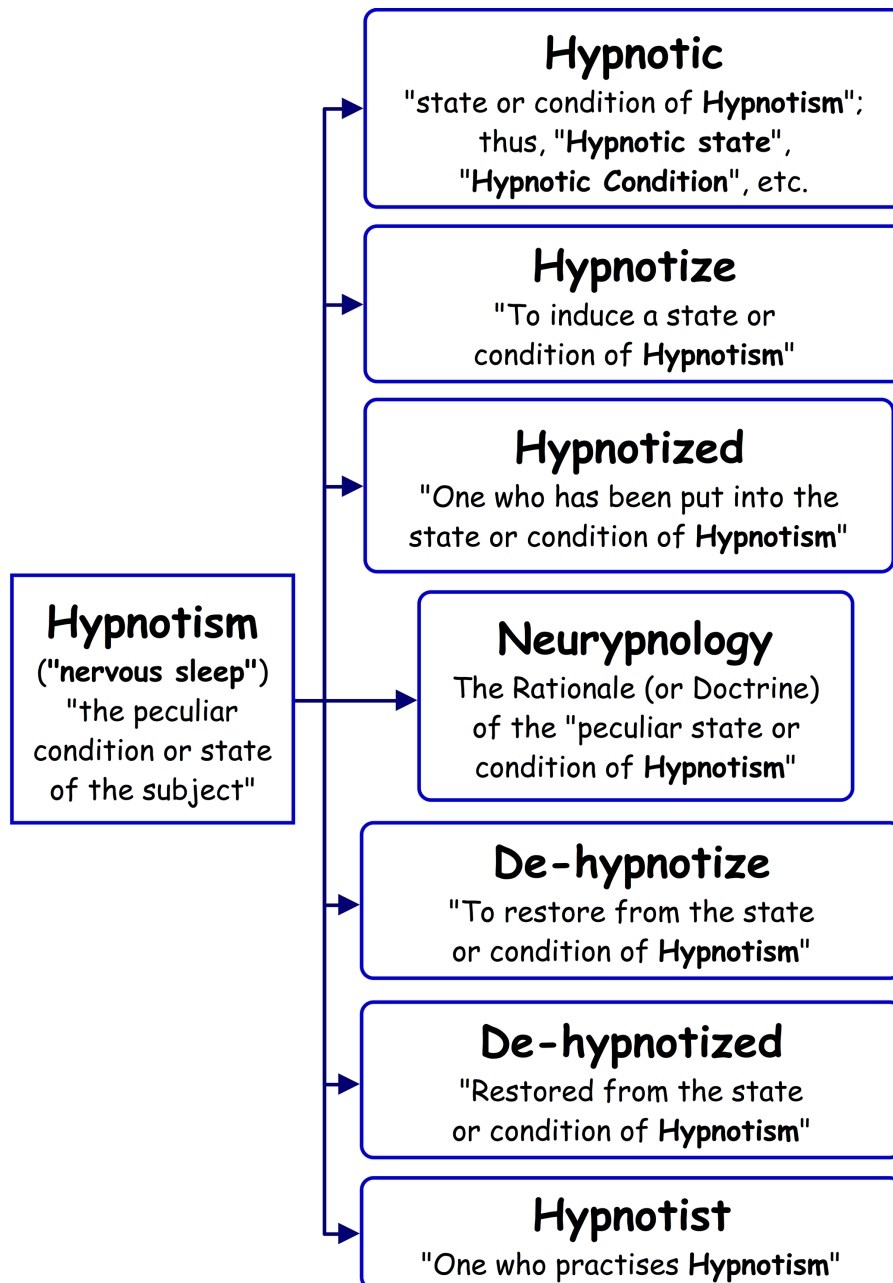


Fig.13. Braid's Taxonomy.

Each of these lectures began with an explanation of why he resorted to lecturing in public, and how his goal was to disseminate information, rather than to 'tout for trade'.

[Mr. Braid] commenced by making a few observations ... in defence of the manner in which he was bringing this subject before the public, to which objection had been taken by many of the profession.

He stated that he did not adopt the present plan until he found that the faculty paid no attention to the matter, and would not attend either a lecture or a *conversazione*, to which he had sent them free tickets of admission.

The [*London*] *Medical Gazette*, too, had refused to insert a letter of his, in reply to an attack on the science made by the editor [see: LMG.2]; and, therefore, nothing was left but to bring it before the public in the form he at present did.

All his desire was to promote truth, and, if possible, do good to his fellow creatures.

(Braid's 6 April 1842 Lecture, *The Liverpool Mercury* [LIM.3])

[29]

Each lecture had the same overall form, including a description of his first encounter with Lafontaine; his conclusion that, although Lafontaine's effects were veridical (and not due to collusion, delusion, pretence, or extensive subject training), Lafontaine's claims of 'magnetic' agency were not supported by facts; his *experimentum crucis* and his early research on humans and animals, which proved that his method had nothing to do with imagination, sympathy, or imitation (although, as he often remarked, such agencies, whenever present, would only operate to heighten its effects); his developing (yet still incomplete) physical (rather than *metaphysical* or *mental*) explanation of his method (which had been shown to bring uniform, efficacious and beneficial results in all subjects); an explanation of his distinctive set of technical terms; and an account his theoretical, experimental, and technical developments since his last lecture.

In the process he also spoke of his ever-wider range of clinical successes (often producing the successfully treated patients as evidence) and, as well, demonstrated his method's effects on stage with real patients (in addition to inducing the hypnotic state in large numbers of audience volunteers).

In the context of M'Neile's 10 April 1842 sermon (see below) it is highly significant that the public performances of Braid and Lafontaine at separate (Liverpool) locations on the evening of 1 April 1842 were each systematically disrupted by a well-orchestrated campaign of sabotage by a number of members of the Liverpool medical profession (see LIM.1, and LIM.2).

[For additional details of the separate lectures: 12 March 1842: see Yeates (2013), pp.249- 260, and MG.8, transcribed at Yeates (2013), pp.577-590; 31 March 1842: see Yeates, 2013, pp.260-266, and both MT.5 and MT.6; 1 April 1842: see Yeates, 2013, pp.268-269, and LIM.2; 6 April 1842: see Yeates (2013), pp.269-271, and LIM.3; and 13 April 1842: see Yeates (2013), pp.298, and MC.1, transcribed at Yeates (2013), pp.599-620.]

10.6 “Sources of Fallacy”

As Braid noted in *Neurypnology* (N, p.2), it was from a need to see Lafontaine in person – so that he would no longer be forced to rely upon the second-hand reports of others – and “an anxiety to discover the source of fallacy in certain phenomena [he] had heard were exhibited at M. Lafontaine’s *conversazioni*” that he attended Lafontaine’s demonstration.

In this fourth set of lectures, and in order to assist the establishment of “truth”, Braid offered his audiences alternative, rational explanations for Lafontaine’s phenomena. In the process, having discounted the (ever present) possibility of deception, dishonesty, or outright fraud, he identified six “sources of fallacy” (which, later, became eight, see Fig.14; also, Yeates, 2013, pp.741-743) in their experimental design (and consequent seriously flawed observation) that had deceived Lafontaine and other ‘honest’ researchers, leading them all to wrong conclusions.

[30]

Braid successfully demonstrated that many of the alleged phenomena of mesmerism owed their origin to defective methods of observation. He drew out a list of the more important sources of error which, he said, ought always to be kept in mind by the operator:–

- (1) The [extreme sensitivity] of the organs of special sense, which enabled impressions to be perceived through the ordinary media that would have passed unrecognised in the waking condition.
- (2) The docility and sympathy of the subjects, which tended to make them imitate the actions of others.
- (3) The extraordinary revival of memory by which they could recall things long forgotten in the waking state.
- (4) The remarkable effect of contact in arousing memory, i.e. by acting as the signal for the production of a fresh hypnosis.
- (5) The condition of double consciousness or double personality.
- (6) The vivid state of the imagination in hypnosis, which instantly invested every suggested idea, or remembrance of past impressions, with the attributes of present realities.
- (7) Deductions rapidly drawn by the subject from unintentional suggestions given by the operator.
- (8) The tendency of the human mind, in those with a great love of the marvellous, erroneously to interpret the subject's replies in accordance with their own desires.

[From my own (viz., Bramwell's) experience] the following may also be noted as possible sources of error in hypnotic experiment:–

- (1) Operator and subject may both voluntarily try to deceive the spectator.
- (2) The operator may be honest, while the subjects may try to deceive him.
- (3) The accuracy of the experiments may be destroyed by unintentional errors on the part of the operator, the subject, or both.

Fig.14. Braid's *Sources of Fallacy* (Bramwell, 1903, p.144-149).

In a letter to *The Lancet*, Braid remarked that, having “pointed out various sources of fallacy which might have misled the mesmerists”, he also “distinctly avowed that *hypnotism* laid no claim to produce any phenomena which were not ‘quite reconcilable with well-established physiological and psychological principles’” (1845, p.627); and, further, in an 1851 lecture, Braid had this to say:

I have never yet seen any phenomena during either the hypnotic or mesmeric sleep, or during the state for manifesting vigilant phenomena, which were not in accordance with generally admitted physiological and psychological principles.

[31]

The senses and mental powers may be torpified or quickened in an extraordinary degree; but I have never seen anything to warrant a belief that individuals could thereby become gifted with the power of reading through decidedly opaque bodies;

acquire the faculty of knowing the meaning of language which they had never learned; and other transcendental phenomena, called by the mesmerists the *higher* phenomena. The power of a strongly fixed attention, vivid imagination, and self-confidence, however, enables them to perform some extraordinary feats of phonic imitation, and writing and drawing by touch, without the use of their eyes; discovering parties who own certain articles worn by them, through the quickened sense of smell; overhearing conversation in a distant apartment, which they could not do in the waking condition; of recalling to mind things long forgotten when awake; and also of deducing conclusions, manifesting uncommon shrewdness, from premises suggested to them, or arising in their minds spontaneously from recollection of past events, to which they have directed their concentrated attention.

(James Braid [1851, pp.528-529])

11. *The Very Rev. Hugh Boyd M'Neile (1795-1879), AB, AM, BD, DD*

A complete account of this controversial Irish-born, Calvinist Anglican demagogue of Scottish descent—a greatly flawed, independently wealthy, highly influential, well-connected, anti-Catholic, anti-Irish, intemperate preacher, rabble-rousing orator, and relentless opponent of 'Popery' (as was Queen Victoria: see QV.1)—lies far beyond this article (for a more complete account see Yeates, 2013, pp.273-307, 591-598, 621-739, and 789-792).

In order to explain just how formidable an opponent this "big, impetuous, eloquent Irishman with a marvellously attractive personality and a magnificent voice" (Balleine, 1908, p.201) was—notwithstanding his irrationality, bombast, and superstition—and in order to understand the motivation for his attack upon Braid, and the manner in which his position, reputation, personality, and character determined the nature of the wide range of critical responses condemning various aspects of his sermon, M'Neile must be situated within the U.K., within the Anglican Church, and within the theological climate of his day.

11.1 *Background*

M'Neile, was born at Ballycastle, County Antrim on 17 July 1795. His father was a rich, influential, well-connected Ulsterman, who owned considerable property around Ballycastle, and was High Sheriff of County Antrim. In 1798, in order to escape 'the troubles' associated with the Irish Rebellion, his mother took him in an open boat to relatives in Scotland. No doubt, experiences during that time further influenced his family's (already hostile) view of the Irish, especially Irish Roman Catholics. He married Anne Magee (1803-1881), the daughter of the fiercely anti-Catholic Archbishop of Dublin in 1822; they had sixteen children.

[32]

11.2 *Law & Theatre*

Privately educated, and destined for a career in law and politics, M'Neile graduated AB at Dublin University in 1815 and began a study of law. Under the wing of his extremely rich (unmarried)

uncle, Lieutenant-General Daniel M'Neile (1754- 1826), he spent much of his time socialising (DM.1). Deeply devoted to the stage, he attended theatrical performances whenever he could. He travelled (with his uncle) extensively on the continent, enjoying the social advantages of his uncle's influence.

11.3 *The Church*

On one of his European tours (in 1816) he was struck by a life-threatening illness. Following his (unexpected) full recovery, he began reading the Bible every day; and, not long after, experienced a conversion to the Evangelical 'Low' Anglican Church.

[The Protestant, Evangelical (lit., 'of the Gospel'), Calvinist *Low Church*, stressed personal conversion, Bible reading, adherence to the Book of Common Prayer, and preaching – as distinct from the Anglo-Catholic *High Church*, with its reliance on tradition, vestments, liturgy, and ritual.] M'Neile chose to dedicate his life to the Church, and by 1819, abandoned his legal studies, returned to Dublin University, undertook divinity studies, and was ordained in July 1820.

11.4 *Albury*

In the early stages of his ministry, as a somewhat fanatical convert, and serving as the Rector of Albury, Surrey, he was involved in the annual Albury Conferences. Held between 1826 and 1830, these conferences centred on the intense study of the prophetic books of the Bible; *seeking out as-yet-unfulfilled prophecies within them* (!!) – and, as these conferences progressed year by year, "[their] prophetic speculations became more and more extreme" (Carter, 2001, p.179).

It was at Albury that M'Neile first met the Scottish cleric Edward Irving (1792- 1834), a devoted advocate of the extraordinary '*year for a day principle*' (see: W.1), which predicted (based upon a specific and bizarre mathematical interpretation of the Bible), that Christ would return to Earth in either 1866 or 1870 (depending upon when you started counting): an extraordinary belief that M'Neile continued to hold with the greatest conviction for the rest of his life. Irving, an important (posthumous) influence in the (post-Albury Conferences) founding of the Catholic Apostolic Church in 1835, was excommunicated from the Church of Scotland on the grounds of his heresy in 1831.

11.5 "*Tongues*"

Irving was a strong believer in the 'gifts'; which included spiritual healing, and glossolalia, 'speaking in tongues'. [N.B.: Newberg, et al. (2006) clearly demonstrated that *glossolalia* is an 'emotion-centred' brain event not attributable to supernatural agency.] M'Neile dabbled with spiritual healing and 'speaking with tongues' for a short time (Stunt, 2000, pp.247-248), but soon realised that these 'gifts' *were not of the*

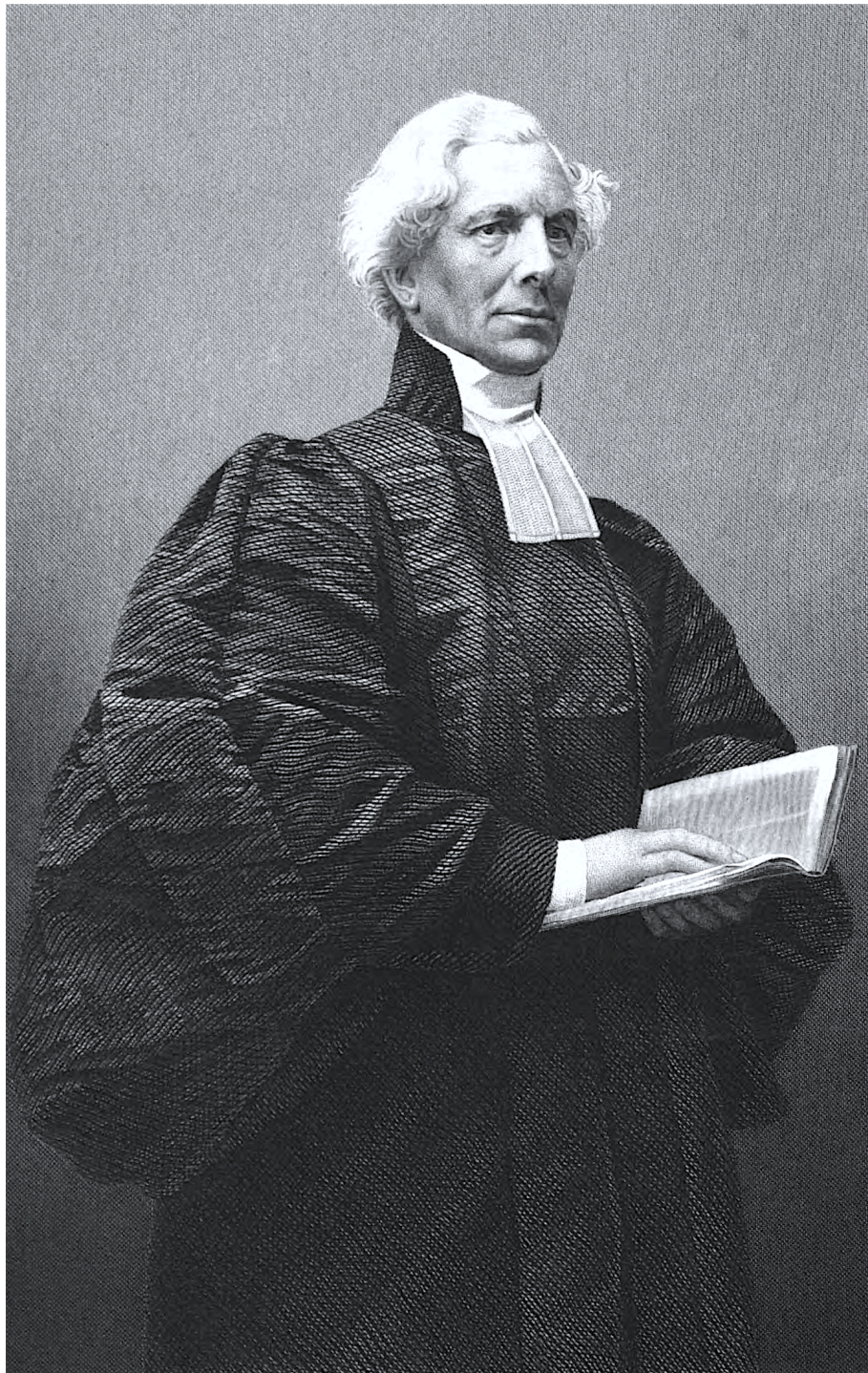
[33]

Fig.15. Hugh M'Neile at 65 years (Pound, 1860).

Holy Spirit, and completely abandoned the practices – and, by July 1832, he was “preaching publicly at Albury against the ‘gifts’” (Carter, 2001, p.186).

M'Neile first encountered the theatrical, deceptive, ‘speaking in tongues’ Okey Sisters through Irving (Clarke, 1874, p.164). His direct experience of the Okey Sisters, his knowledge of their association with Elliotson and mesmerism, and their well-attested fraudulent deception of Elliotson (ibid, pp.155-194), strongly influenced M'Neile's later views of animal magnetism.

[34]

11.6 *Demagogue*

Considered by some to be “unquestionably the greatest Evangelical preacher and speaker in the Church of England during [the entire nineteenth] century” (Stock, 1899, p.374), M'Neile eventually became the Dean of Ripon (1868-1875).

[This appointment was a compromise. Both Queen Victoria and Prime Minister Disraeli resisted considerable pressure to have M'Neile elevated to Bishop (see correspondence at Buckle, 1926, pp.533-534); an appointment that would have entitled him to sit in the House of Lords.]

In addition to his considerable inherited wealth, M'Neile also enjoyed a large income from his clerical appointments. His £1,000 p.a. stipend at St. Paul's Liverpool – a 2,000+ seat church, expressly built for M'Neile, where he served from 1848 to 1868 – was twelve times that of an average curate. This amount was further increased by pew rents of £1,500 p.a., which went directly into M'Neile's pocket.

(This £2,500 p.a. was worth far more than \$AUS1 million p.a. in 2018 values.)

Characterised as a “bold bad Irishman”, a “dangerous man”, a “politico-religious firebrand” (Bradley, 1852, p.393), and “a bigoted divine, who enjoys unfortunately a very extensive popularity” (North, 1845, p.174), M'Neile was a tenacious, relentless, and formidable foe. Along with his verbal aggression, he was a man of great strength, and the most imposing physicality; considered handsome by many, he was at least 6'3" (191cm) tall, thick-set, broad shouldered, and walked with a slight stoop.

He was infamous for his stirring oratory (“probably the most eloquent, the most able and the most consistent religious agitator of his day”: Murphy, 1959, p.51), his immoderate and intemperate preaching, his prolific publications (none of which had any lasting theological value) and, in particular, for his consistent failure to accurately construe the meaning of the scripture upon which many of his diatribes were based (i.e., *exegesis*, ‘drawing out’: see Yeates, 2013, pp.627-641), compounded by his propensity to inappropriately project Biblical texts onto current events (i.e., *eisegesis*, ‘reading into’: see Yeates, 2013, pp.289-290).

11.7 *Intemperate Preaching*

There were several extraordinary aspects of his preaching. Rather than the ‘industry standard’ of 25 minutes, M'Neile's sermons routinely lasted 90 minutes; and, moreover, apart from a small pocket Bible, from which he read his texts (BR.1, p.422), he always preached extemporaneously, and *entirely without notes* (Grant, 1841, p.247) in direct contravention of “the canons of his church ... [which required that all] preachers ... read their sermons” (BR.1, *ibid.*).

Never structured appeals to reason, M'Neile's sermons were impassioned histrionic performances intentionally directed at the emotions of his low need-for-cognition audience, who were only too happy to let M'Neile do their thinking for them. With his "impetuous temper" and propensity to "[launch] forth the thunder-bolts of his eloquent indignation against the Romish Church" (Dix, 1852, p.93), M'Neile was at least the equal of other impassioned platform persuaders, such as Adolf Hitler and Billy Graham.

[35]

Another extraordinary aspect was his propensity for "[being] carried away into confessedly injudicious acts and words, which many would wish unsaid, undone" (Arnold, 1875, p.307). It seems likely that M'Neile, who spoke *ex tempore*, felt imbued with the spirit of God as he rose to speak—justified by the metonymical act of straightening significantly as he grasped the front of the pulpit, and his stooped shoulders becoming level once more—when the truth seems to clearly be that this former 'speaker in tongues', actually moved into a trance state; of which, upon returning to 'normal', he had no memory at all, and, within which, he had no responsibility for whatever he might utter. For example:

- (a) On 28 February 1847, he preached that the Irish Famine was an act of God's retribution, punishing the Irish for their collective sins and their tolerance of Roman Catholicism (M'Neile, 1856).
- (b) On 8 December 1850, in denouncing the evils of the Roman Catholic confessional (e.g., see M'Neile, 1874), M'Neile made a series of outrageous statements (Fig.16; also, see M'Neile, 1850).

12. M'Neile's "Satanic Agency and Mesmerism" Sermon

12.1 Overview

On the evening of Sunday, 10 April 1842, M'Neile preached a lengthy sermon—lasting, at least, "an hour and twenty minutes" (BM.1)—against Mesmerism to a capacity (1,500+) congregation that had been prepared (at the morning service) with M'Neile's extensive recital (and idiosyncratic explanation) of the long list of scripture passages upon which his evening's sermon was to be based (see Yeates, 2013, pp.627-641). He began, speaking of "latter days"—following which (according to the superstition of the day) Christ was due to return to Earth within another 20 years or so, and peace would, then, reign for 1,000 years—and how, as this second advent was becoming increasingly near, "satanic agency amongst men" was becoming more and more obvious.

He then launched into an extended series of vicious denunciations of Braid and Lafontaine (i.e., a *phillipic*), and fierce attacks on animal magnetism (i.e., a *polemic*), concluding that all mesmeric phenomena were due to “satanic agency”. Using devious *switch-referencing* – exploiting the equivocation of “*occult*” (‘hidden from view’ vs. ‘black arts’) – he claimed that hypnotism was ‘satanic’ on the grounds that (i) the mechanism of hypnotism is *unknown*, (ii) thus, hypnotism was ‘*occult*’, and (iii) and, therefore, because ‘*the occult*’ was the domain of Satan, hypnotism was, obviously, ‘*satanic*’.

With “a degree of bigotry worthy of the dark ages, and a degree of ignorance hardly to be expected in a gentleman who talks so glibly of science and the laws of nature”, and “display[ing] great ignorance and act[ing] with much unfairness” (LIM.6), M'Neile attacked Braid as a man, a scientist, a philosopher, and a medical professional, condemning Braid's therapeutic work as having no clinical efficacy whatsoever. He misrepresented Braid, claiming that Braid and Lafontaine were of one and the same kind; and, further, threatened Braid's professional and social position by associating him with Satan and witchcraft – an accusation that posed terrifyingly serious consequences at the time they were made:

[36]

The Anti-Popery Agitation – Dr. M'Neile

...The frenzied vehemence of bigotry has reached its climax. At Liverpool, the Rev. Dr. M'Neile, the notorious platform orator, uttered a sentence last Sunday morning, in the pulpit in St. Paul's Church, Prince's Park, which, we are sure, was never surpassed by the cruel ferocity of Popish intolerance, in the worst days of the Inquisition. To be sure, Dr. M'Neile did not mean it,– he would shudder to be taken at his word; but why does he, a Christian minister, not bridle his tongue, unruly evil that it is?

Here is the sentiment, at which [Edmund Bonner, the 'persecutor of heretics'] might have blushed, in the bloody reign of persecuting [Queen Mary I]:–

"I would make it a capital offence to administer the confession in this country. Transportation [to the colonies] would not satisfy me; for that would merely transfer the evil from one part of the world to the other. CAPITAL PUNISHMENT ALONE WOULD SATISFY ME. DEATH ALONE WOULD PREVENT THE EVIL. That is my solid conviction."

No, thank GOD, it is not your solemn conviction, Dr. M'Neile nor is it the conviction of any English mind, however narrowed by sectarian jealousies, in this age of mild humanity! No bigot, no fanatic, now exists in England, who would, in deed and in fact, erect the gallows or the stake, for the punishment of an erring act of religious custom.

Dr. M'Neile, on the same Sunday evening, went into his reading desk, and pronounced before his congregation the following apology:–

"In the excitement of an extemporaneous discourse delivered by me this morning, I used, I believe, a most atrocious expression. That expression I have already withdrawn in the sight of God; I have, I trust, made my peace with him; and I now beg to withdraw that expression in the sight of this congregation, and to make my peace with you. I will not repeat the expression which I have referred to; for those who heard it will sufficiently well remember it; whilst I will not grieve (or inflict pain upon) those who did not hear it by repeating it."

Fig.16. *The Manchester Examiner and Times*, 14 December 1850 (MET.1).

- (a) in 1697, Edinburgh University student Thomas Aikenhead had been hurriedly hanged (without due process) for 'blasphemy' surrounded by the very clerics that had agitated for his execution (see Macaulay, 1864, pp.783-786; also Graham, 2008). [Braid's grandfather would have met men who had personally witnessed this disgraceful event.]

[37]

- (b) "Blasphemy" was a capital offence in Scotland until 1825, and a common law offence in the entire UK until 2008. [The last person to be imprisoned (nine months' hard labour) was in 1921.]

- (c) Under the UK Witchcraft Act of 1735, Braid could have been imprisoned for at least a year. [The last person to be imprisoned (nine months) was in 1944; and the last prosecution under the Act, repealed in 1951, was also in 1944.]
- (d) a number of those deemed-by-the-superstitious to be witches had been murdered by vigilante mobs in the U.K. in the 18th and 19th centuries. [A deemed-to-be witch, Ann Tenant, was murdered in Long Compton, Warwickshire, as recently as 1875: see CH.1.]

12.2 Eyewitness Report

A brief eyewitness account of M'Neile's performance was published in the *Liverpool Standard* two days later (LS.1; see Yeates, 2013, pp.591-595). Various versions of this report were distributed worldwide (see Yeates, 2013, pp.596-598).

12.3 Braid's Private Response

Once he had been made fully aware of issues raised in M'Neile's entire sermon – the misrepresentations, errors of fact, vicious insults, and threats levelled against Braid's personal, spiritual, and professional well-being – Braid sent a detailed ('gentlemanly') private letter to M'Neile. It must be emphasised that, in endeavouring to establish whether or not M'Neile:

- (a) had *actually uttered* the things he was supposed to have said;
- (b) had *actually intended* to say the things he had uttered;
- (c) (with hindsight, and post-performance clarity) *still wanted* to say those things;
- (d) was *fully aware* of his errors in fact; and, if (d) obtained,
- (e) was *prepared to retract* his erroneous views.

Braid was posing 'genuine' (rather than 'rhetorical') questions.

Braid's private letter was accompanied by a newspaper account of Braid's Macclesfield (13 April 1842) lecture (MC.1; see Yeates, 2013, pp.599-620), and a cordial invitation (and free ticket) to attend Braid's next Liverpool lecture, on Thursday, 21 April 1842.

12.4 Braid's Fifth Set of Lectures (Liverpool)

Braid delivered his final Liverpool lectures on 21 April (LIM.4), and on 28 April 1842 (LIM.5). Surprised that M'Neile was not present in his large audience on 21 April, Braid lectured and successfully conducted a number of his usual demonstrations. He felt that his lecture, "*Animal Magnetism compared with Neurohypnology*" – which the reporter noted "has been agitating the minds of the professional men of this town for some time past" (LIM.4) – would address M'Neile's concerns:

In his introductory remarks [Mr. Braid] took occasion to notice the sermon lately preached by a noted Rev. polemic on the subject, and in the course of his observations, in allusion to the assertion that the mesmerizers were under the influence of Satanic agency, Mr. Braid said the best answer he could give [38] was to quote the scriptural text—“By their works ye shall know them”.

The devil, he (Mr. Braid) had been taught to believe in Scotland, was always trying to blind man, and to keep him ignorant; but they had before heard, that by taking advantage of this law of animal economy, he had been enabled to restore sight to a lady after a few minutes of hypnotic sleep, and her memory was so much strengthened, that was enabled to recollect what she read.

She was then enabled to read her Bible, which had hitherto been a closed book to her. Was it likely the devil would do any such thing—was it likely to be the work of the devil?

Was it not more likely that men who opposed any thing that was likely to become a blessing to mankind were actuated by Satanic agency?

(Loud applause.)

He recommended as the next text to be preached for the statement of Gamaliel [viz., Acts 5:38-39]—“If it be the work of man, it will come to nought; but if it be of God, fight not against it, lest ye fight against God”.

(*The Liverpool Mercury*, Friday 29 April 1842 [LIM.4])

On 28 April Braid delivered the same lecture, although with different experiments; and, this time, he made no mention of M'Neile or his sermon (LIM.5)—no doubt, having made an ‘oral’ reply a week earlier (in his lecture) to M'Neile’s ‘oral’ attack (in his sermon) Braid was satisfied that, having responded in kind, the matter was closed. However, the matter was not closed: on Wednesday, 4 May 1842, M'Neile’s sermon was published.

12.5 M'Neile's Sermon Published

M'Neile neither acknowledged Braid’s letter nor attended his lecture. Despite the evidence that Braid had presented, M'Neile allowed an abridged version of his original sermon (still more than 7,500 words) to be published—as transcribed *verbatim* by a stenographer—*apparently without the slightest correction of any of its original erroneous content* (M'Neile, 1842; see Yeates (2013), pp.621–670) in a two-part issue of *The Penny Pulpit*, entitled “*Satanic Agency and Mesmerism*”, on Wednesday, 4 May 1842 (Fig.17).

The Rev. H. M'Neil on SATANIC AGENCY and MESMERISM.

The PENNY PULPIT, Nos.599 and 600, The Rev. H. M'Neil on Satanic Agency and Mesmerism; 597 and 598, the Rev. H. Melvill on Confirmation; 15 Sermons by ditto, 2s. 6d.; Popular Errors on Prayer, Baptism, &c., 1s.

The Sacred Star, a monthly magazine of biblical literature, &c., 36pp. 18mo, 2d.; the Mothers' Magazine for May, containing consolations, cautions, and directions for the management of children, &c., 16pp. 8vo., 2d.

James Paul, 1, Chapterhouse-court, St. Pauls

Fig.17. Public Notice, *The Times*, 9 May 1842 (Paul, 1842).

[39]

12.6 *The Penny Pulpit*

The influential and popular weekly, *The Penny Pulpit: A Collection of Accurately- Reported Sermons by the Most Eminent Ministers of Various Denominations*, published one sermon per issue, with each sermon identified by a sequential number (rather than date of publication). It had around 3,000 postal subscribers; and was widely distributed through bookstores as individual copies (a penny a copy), monthly aggregates (a shilling a copy), or annual volumes (10s. 6d. per issue). It had two main audiences:

- (a) lay individuals seeking 'inspiration' vicariously through the sermons of the nation's best preachers, and
- (b) dull, unimaginative, ordained clerics – "men of limited intellectual power, and feeble eloquence" (BR.1, p.418) – who presented the sermons (with minor textual alterations) to their congregations as their own work (Davies, 1873).

M'Neile's sermon was also issued far and wide, in great numbers (i.e., tens of thousands), in the UK and overseas (as post-publication *Penny Pulpit* off-prints, with same page numbers), for many years.

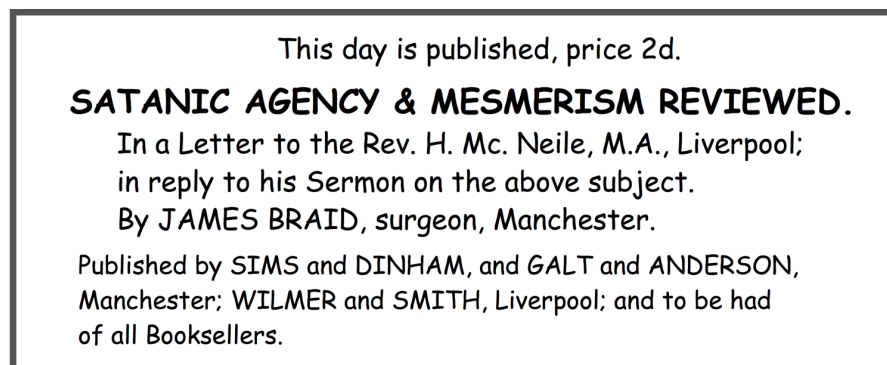


Fig.18. New Publications, *The Manchester Times*, 4 June 1842 (Braid, 1842e).

12.7 *Braid's Published Response*

On 4 June 1842, Braid's response (Fig.18) was published as a 12-page pamphlet "*Satanic Agency and Mesmerism Reviewed*" (Braid, 1842d; see Yeates, 2013, pp.671- 700). The pamphlet is extremely rare. Perhaps, only two copies exist (see Yeates, 2013, pp.672-677). Despite Crabtree's accurate appraisal of it being "a work of the greatest significance in the history of hypnotism" (1988, p.121, §.450), it is not an

It will be seen that our eminent townsman, Mr. Braid, surgeon, has replied, in a pamphlet, to the Rev. Hugh M'Neile's absurd ascription of mesmerism to "Satanic agency". Mr. Braid has been forced into the arena by Mr. M'Neile's personal attacks on his public and private character.— See advt.

Fig.19. News Item, The Manchester Times, 4 June 1842 (MT.7).

[40]

objective, well-structured exposition of Braid's thoughts in isolation, especially crafted for publication.

Its specific target was those who had heard M'Neile deliver his sermon in person – or had read its published text – and no-one else. *It was never intended to meet the needs of those unfamiliar with the fine detail of the sermon*; and it is abundantly clear that the significance of Braid's response cannot be apprehended in isolation from the original sermon's text.

It is an 'open letter' version of his private letter to M'Neile; and:

- (a) (because it is a response), it must be read in conjunction with M'Neile's publication;
- (b) it must be read in conjunction with the *Macclesfield Courier* article (MC.1; transcribed at Yeates, 2013, pp.599-620);

and, further:

- (c) its structure, manner, and form were dictated by M'Neile's publication; and
- (d) (unlike the private letter) it is written from a later, strongly held view that M'Neile was not 'mis-led', not 'mis-informed', not 'ignorant'; and, most certainly, not 'innocent' – and, from this, Braid drew the inescapable conclusion that the lies, errors, and insults had been intentionally published, and that the charges levelled against him were well considered and had been deliberately made.

Within the work itself,

Braid lists three common attitudes towards mesmeric phenomena and a fourth which is his own.

The first is the belief that the phenomena are due to a system of collusion and delusion. The second is that they are real but the products of imagination, sympathy, and imitation.

The third attitude, that of those who accept the theory of animal magnetism, is that the phenomena are caused by the influence of a magnetic medium.

Braid's own view is that they are solely attributable to a particular physiological state of the brain and spinal cord.

After expounding his theory of hypnotism, Braid describes the various uses to which he has applied it: for example, extracting teeth, relief of chronic pain, removal of paralysis, and restoration of hearing and sight.

This small work contains all the basic elements of the system which Braid elaborated the following year with his publication of *Neurypnology* ...

(Crabtree, *ibid*)

12.8 Other Responses

A wide range of objections to M'Neile's sermon came from independent individuals who were immune from M'Neile's authority and influence, alert to his faulty argumentation, and unimpressed by the theatrical majesty of his [41] bizarre demagogic practices (for the text of twelve of these responses, see Yeates, 2013, pp.701-739). In addition to the (aforementioned) *Liverpool Mercury's* condemnation of M'Neile (LIM.6), these responses included:

- (a) critiques of his sermon's argumentation;
- (b) examinations of M'Neile's anti-mesmerism;
- (c) examinations of M'Neile's opposition to science;
- (d) critiques of his sermon's theology;
- (e) examinations of M'Neile 'authority' as a source of secular, spiritual, or scriptural 'truth';
and/or
- (f) responses to specific aspects of his onslaught (such as his attack on the medical profession).

12.9 The Aftermath

M'Neile made no response to Braid's publication (a classic case of Sabbagh's "*ratchet effect*"). One supposes that M'Neile was satisfied that his sermon's publication had *positioned* (see Trout, 1969) "animal magnetism" with "Satanism" in the minds of his credulous followers, and was certain they would not read any of the cogent criticisms of his sermon, let alone be swayed by them. [Probably, in part, due to M'Neile's sermon, Lafontaine's subsequent tour of the north was a complete financial failure. He was forced to send a letter to a supporter in Leeds requesting funds (see LEM.1). Soon after, a destitute Lafontaine left for France, never to return.]

13. The British Association for the Advancement of Science

Immediately after Braid had dealt with the attacks of this rogue cleric, he was compelled to defend his ground against the concerted weight of the entire Medical Section of the *British Association for the Advancement of Science*.

The Ninth Edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, noting that "Braid was *UNDOUBTEDLY* the first to investigate the subject [of hypnotism] in a scientific way, and attempt to give a physiological explanation", displayed the most exquisite linguistic precision in stating that, "Braid read a paper AT a meeting of the British Association in Manchester on 29th June 1842, entitled *Practical Essay on the Curative Agency of Neurohypnotism*" (McKendrick, 1883, p.278). All subsequent accounts

(incorrectly) assume a grammatical error and, in their (unacknowledged) derivative versions, alter McKendrick's text to read: "Braid read a paper BEFORE a meeting of the British Association..." (e.g., Drayton, 1889, p.15). The following will make their mistake transparent.

13.1 The BAAS

The British Association for the Advancement of Science (BAAS) held annual gatherings at a different location each year (1842 was Manchester's turn), wherein "data were scrutinized, theories debated, and information and ideas exchanged", and reports and assessments of "the current situations in the separate sciences" were commissioned (Orange, 1981, p.51). It had seven distinct divisions: Mathematical [42] Zoology and Botany; Medical Science; Statistics; and Mechanical Science.

13.2 The BAAS Medical Section

By 1842, the Medical Section was in decline. Medical professionals were reluctant to travel, interact with peers, and discuss their work. It completely folded five years later, due to lack of interest within the profession; and, in particular, to the influence of the *Provincial Medical and Surgical Association* (of which Braid was a member), whose membership had grown from its original 50 members in 1832, to 1,350 in 1842 (PMJ.1, p.386)—it became the *British Medical Association* in 1856—and whose weekly *Provincial Medical and Surgical Journal*, first published in 1840 (Green & Streeton, 1840), provided a means for disseminating medical knowledge and improving medical practice (Orange, *ibid.*).

13.3 Call for Papers

The Manchester BAAS Meeting took place from 23 to 29 June 1842. Given the limited response of the medical profession overall, the Manchester Sectional Committee urgently sought contributions from 'local' medical men. Although this produced extra papers, there still weren't enough to fill sessions on each of the scheduled seven days. Also, when compared with papers in the other sections (see BAAS, 1843, Appendix, *passim*), those from the medical section held very little interest for non-medical outsiders.

13.4 Braid's Proposed Presentation

On 18 May 1842, Braid intimated that he would submit a paper. On Wednesday, 22 June, he dispatched his paper, "*Practical Essay on the Curative Agency of Neurohypnotism*" to the Medical Section. N.B., "It should be known that Mr. Braid's paper was not a theoretical treatise on animal magnetism, but a 'practical essay on Neurohypnology as a *curative agency*'" (MT.9). Braid asked to be informed of his allocated presentation time as soon as possible, in order to arrange for his

patients' presence, noting that, if his proposed lecture and its associated demonstration was thought to be too long, he was willing to present a truncated version.

Despite the committee having known for five weeks that Braid would present a paper, Braid's name was not on the list of presenters issued on the Thursday morning. On Thursday evening, having enquired about his presentation time, Braid was told he would be informed on Friday. He received no such notification. On asking two committee members directly on the Saturday, he was told they had no answer, and that he must ask the secretaries. Braid wrote immediately to the secretaries.

His letter was unanswered. Within two hours, his paper was returned – by a porter – with no covering note or explanation, in a plain envelope, the outside of which was conspicuously endorsed to the effect that his paper had been rejected: “*Returned as unsuitable*” (Stubbs, 1842, p.375).

[43]

13.5 “Suitability”

The issue of the *suitability/unsuitability* of Braid's paper must be rated against the limited value of the papers that were actually presented (see BAAS, 1843, Appendix, pp.vi-vii, 75-87). *The Manchester Guardian*, which published extensive daily accounts of each section's presentations, consistently noted that the Medical Section papers had been either of a “purely professional character” (thus, not “generally interesting”), or were “far too technical” for the general newspaper reader, with no further details given.

Given the marked lack of interest in the Medical Section's papers, and the considerable audience at his *conversazione* four days later (perhaps, five times medical section's total audience for the entire week), it's obvious that, rather than just “*indifference*” (i.e., absence of “*good will*”), the vested interests within the medical committee were intentionally acting “*out of ill will*” (Arpaly, 2006, p.15). In Braid's view, the reason was un-gentlemanly and most sinister: it was *professional jealousy*.

[I offered to read an essay to the Medical Section of the BAAS] on the curative agency of neuro-hypnotism, as I practise it.

I offered to produce patients, whose cases were referred to that they might have an opportunity of judging facts for themselves, free from all partiality, or bias of me as an operator.

They were pleased to reject the essay as unsuitable, *although many of the cases referred to had been speedily cured by this agency, after resisting the best endeavours of what I have no doubt, on the old plan, was orthodox treatment, by the very gentlemen who pronounced the paper explaining this new and successful mode, as unsuitable for their consideration.*

(Braid, letter to *The Medical Times* dated 4 July 1842 [1842h, emphasis added])

13.6 Response to the Rejection of Braid's Paper

In a special edition, an outraged Manchester Times expressed (i) concern at Braid's treatment, (ii) astonishment that Braid's subject was deemed unsuitable, and (iii) disquiet that the committee's extraordinary decision had been kept secret from the majority of BAAS members. Appended to the report was an explanatory letter it had solicited, that day, from Braid himself (Braid, 1842f).

Acquainting BAAS attendees "with this unprecedented act of discourtesy", the newspaper suggested "it may be worth their while to inquire why the Committee took it upon themselves to declare that a subject which had occupied the attention of many of the highest intellects in Manchester, was 'unsuitable' to the deliberations of a body met for 'the advancement of science'". It also announced that Braid intended to "bring [the matter] before the members [of the Association] in a conversazione, to be held in a day or two" (MT.8).

14. Braid's Conversazione

Having written his (solicited) letter for the newspaper, Braid immediately launched into the next phase of his boundary work: a conversazione, to be held at a location [44] immediately adjacent to the BAAS premises, on Wednesday, 29 June 1842, the meeting's last day – and at noon, when the BAAS delegates would be free of all other commitments. His conversazione, with free admission for all BAAS delegates, was announced in the local press (see Fig.20).

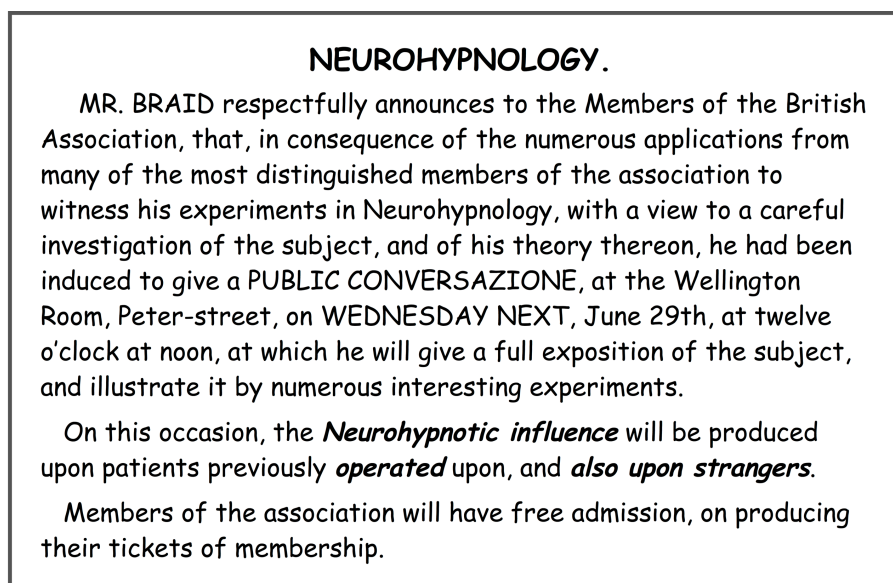


Fig.20. Public Notice, The Manchester Guardian, 29 June 1842 (Braid, 1842g).

14.1 Sabotage

To ensure that all delegates knew they were cordially invited, placards advertising Braid's *conversazione* were clearly displayed at each of the various Sections' meeting venues. The malevolent hostility of Braid's enemies was soon revealed when his opponents went into each of those rooms and tore the placards down soon after they went on display (MT.10).

14.2 Braid's Audience

The *conversazione's* audience was never less than 500; rising, at its peak, to almost 1,000 (MT.10). Allowing for the attendees' free admission, these figures indicate an exceptionally high level of interest in Braid's work, given the total attendance for the BAAS meeting was 1,283 individuals (Morrell & Thackray, 1981, p.548). The newspaper identified sixty eminent individuals at the *conversazione*, including the founder of the BAAS, Sir David Brewster (details at Yeates, 2013, pp.318-320).

In contrast to the spite and jealousy directed at Braid by the Medical Section's Committee, the extraordinarily large attendance at his *conversazione* provides strong, objective evidence of (i) Braid's status among his scientific peers, (ii) the relevance of his topic, and (iii) the general level of scientific interest in such matters. [Further evidence that the problem was with the members of the Medical Section's Committee (rather than the BAAS itself) came in 1855, when Braid delivered a paper to the Association's Glasgow Meeting (BAAS, 1856, pp.x-xii) on the "physiology of fascination" (i.e., Braid, 1856).]

[45]

14.3 Braid's "Essay"

Braid entered the auditorium to great applause, which grew even louder when he pulled his 'rejected essay' from his pocket and waved it dramatically. He began with an account of his paper's rejection – "'And this', he said, 'from medical men on that committee whose patients I had restored, whom they had pronounced incurable'" (Stubbs, 1842, p.375), observing that, as he'd offered to adapt his paper in any way the committee desired, it was clear that it was not *his paper* that was "unsuitable"; it was *his topic*.

Understanding that his (predominantly BAAS) audience – despite (in most cases) lacking precise medical understanding – were well-educated, interested in his topic, and capable of structured thought, 'how could it be?', he asked (to great applause), that "a new and important curative agency" was "unsuited" to the very section of the BAAS that professed to be concerned with the advancement of science in precisely that domain of endeavour? And, moreover, he asked (to even greater applause), given it was just as much the duty of the BAAS to identify and expose fraudulent claims, as it was to investigate and acknowledge new discoveries, if his claims were *false*, why had the committee been "afraid to put them to the test" and prove them to be false; or, he continued, if his claims were *valid*, "why should they not be heard and acknowledged, in order that suffering humanity might, as widely as possible, be benefitted by its being brought into the most extensive practice?"

He read his “essay” to the audience – the contents matching his recent lectures (such as the one delivered in Macclesfield on 13 April 1842: MC.1; see Yeates, 2013, pp.599-620) – with many asides (to great applause) to the effect of ‘how could this be considered unfit for the attention of medical men?’.

14.4 *Braid's Demonstrations*

Braid began his demonstrations. VIPs in the front row – who, through their presence, firmly attested to the ‘*non-diabolical nature*’ of his procedures – included several surgeons, and the Anglican Dean of Manchester, the Senior Canon of Manchester Cathedral, the Sub-Dean of Manchester Cathedral, the Rector of St. Mark's, Cheetham, and the Manchester district's military commander.

The characteristic “unbecoming conduct” of the surgeon, J.P. Catlow was, again, on display. His constant interruptions, heckling of Braid, and his interjections directed at the chair were such that the chairman eventually threatened him with immediate expulsion from the *conversazione* if he continued. An audience member remarked that “Catlow's conduct was a very good illustration of that which seemed to have actuated some of Mr. Braid's other professional brethren in the medical section” (MT.10).

As well as successfully performing his regular set of demonstrations on his own subjects, and in the absence of audience volunteers – having rejected the single volunteer, a Glasgow trained surgical colleague, on the grounds that he would be “actively engaged in observing the phenomena”, rather than immersing himself in [46] the process – he also successfully and impressively demonstrated his procedures on three of the four randomly selected members of the public (one of the “two men” and both of the “two youths”) that had been brought in to the *conversazione* from off the street (independently) by two of the VIPs.

Whilst Braid had achieved great success with his *conversazione*, his satisfaction would not last long; because, in just five days time he would be forced to respond to an even greater challenge of a far more malevolent nature.

[Continued in Part IV]

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About the Contributor

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Dr Lindsay B. Yeates, PhD (History & Philosophy of Science), University of New South Wales (UNSW); MA (Cognitive Science), UNSW; Graduate Diploma in Arts By Research (History & Philosophy of Science), UNSW; BA (Asian Studies), Australian National University (ANU); Diploma of Clinical Hypnotherapy; Diploma of Traditional Chinese Medicine; Certificate of Competence as a Therapy Radiographer,

Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology (RMIT). A Fellow and Life Member of the Australian Society of Clinical Hypnotherapy (ASCH), and the Australian Hypnotherapists' Association (AHA), currently Editorial Assistant at the *Australasian Journal of Philosophy*, and an Adjunct Assistant Lecturer in the School of Humanities and Languages at the University of New South Wales, Lindsay has been variously involved with hypnotism, hypnotherapy, and the training of clinical hypnotherapists for more than fifty-five years.

Following the award of MA for his interdisciplinary cognitive science studies in 2002, and a Graduate Diploma in Arts for his research into the mechanism of thought experiments in 2004, Lindsay was awarded a scholarship to undertake extensive post-graduate research into the events surrounding James Braid's discovery of hypnotism in Manchester in 1841. His acclaimed, groundbreaking doctoral dissertation, *James Braid: Surgeon, Gentleman Scientist, and Hypnotist*, was accepted by the examiners without correction. He was awarded a PhD in 2013.

Driven by a life-long interest in scientific hypnotism and suggestion—in particular, the nature, form, and content of efficacious hypnotic suggestion—Lindsay's professional career reflects his view that a major obligation of any scholar is not only to actively engage in the prolonged studies demanded for both knowledge creation, and the distillation and the refinement of the knowledge so created, but also, to diffuse and disseminate that knowledge. Lindsay's on-going studies, the refinement of his personal understandings, and the non-commercial sharing of his research, form a significant part of that long-term endeavour.

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